



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

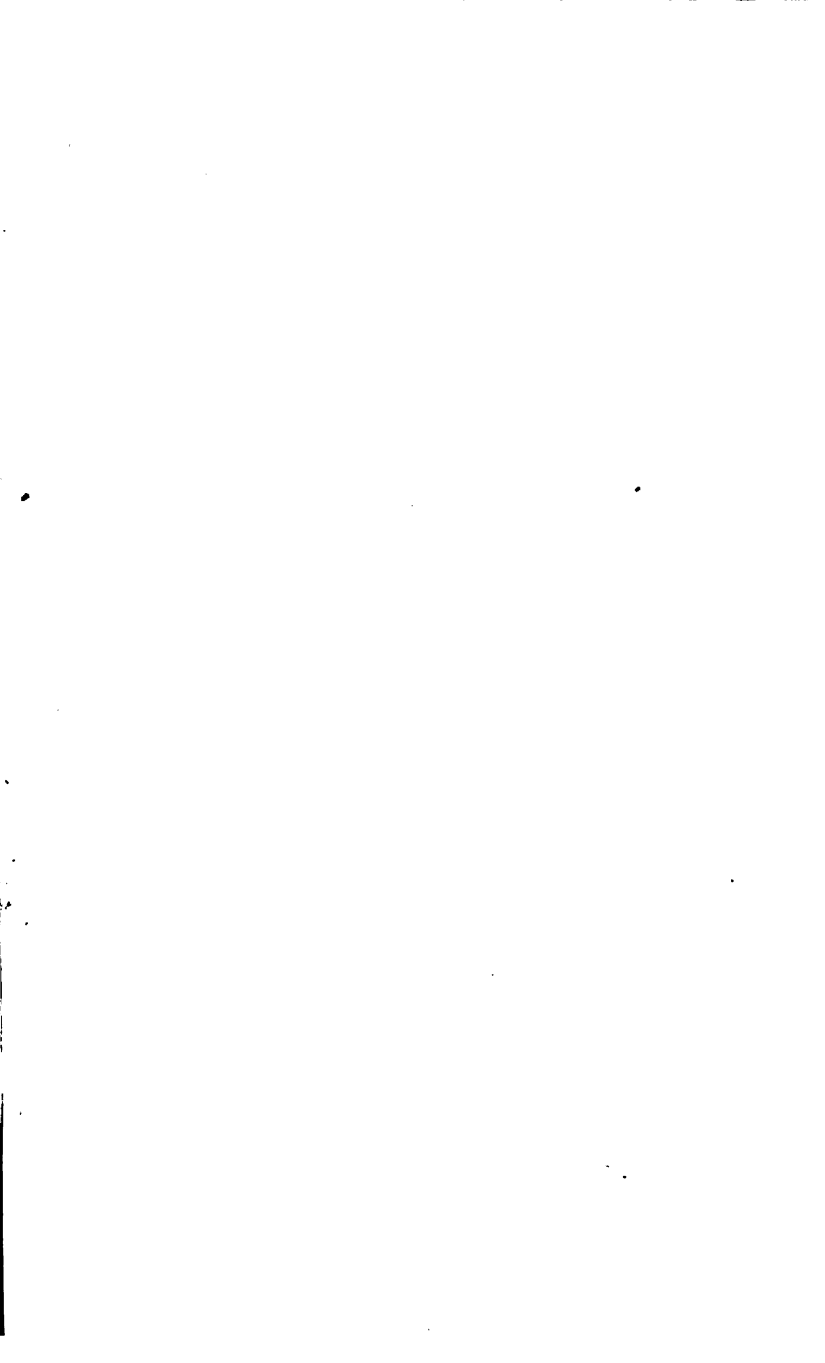
AZ 2981.4.11













John S. Popkin



CAMBRIDGE:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN BARTLETT,
Bookseller to the University.
1852.



on the 14th.

A

©

MEMORIAL

OF THE

REV. JOHN SNELLING POPKIN, D. D.

LATE ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

EDITED BY

CORNELIUS C. FELTON,

HIS SUCCESSOR IN OFFICE.

“Μερὰ δὲ τριτάτοις ἀνασεν.”

CAMBRIDGE:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN BARTLETT,
Bookseller to the University.
1852.

22 2981.4.11

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by
JOHN BARTLETT,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

John Bartlett
1852

CAMBRIDGE:
METCALF AND COMPANY,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	v

THREE LECTURES ON LIBERAL EDUCATION.

ADVERTISEMENT	3
LECTURE I.	5
LECTURE II.	27
LECTURE III.	51

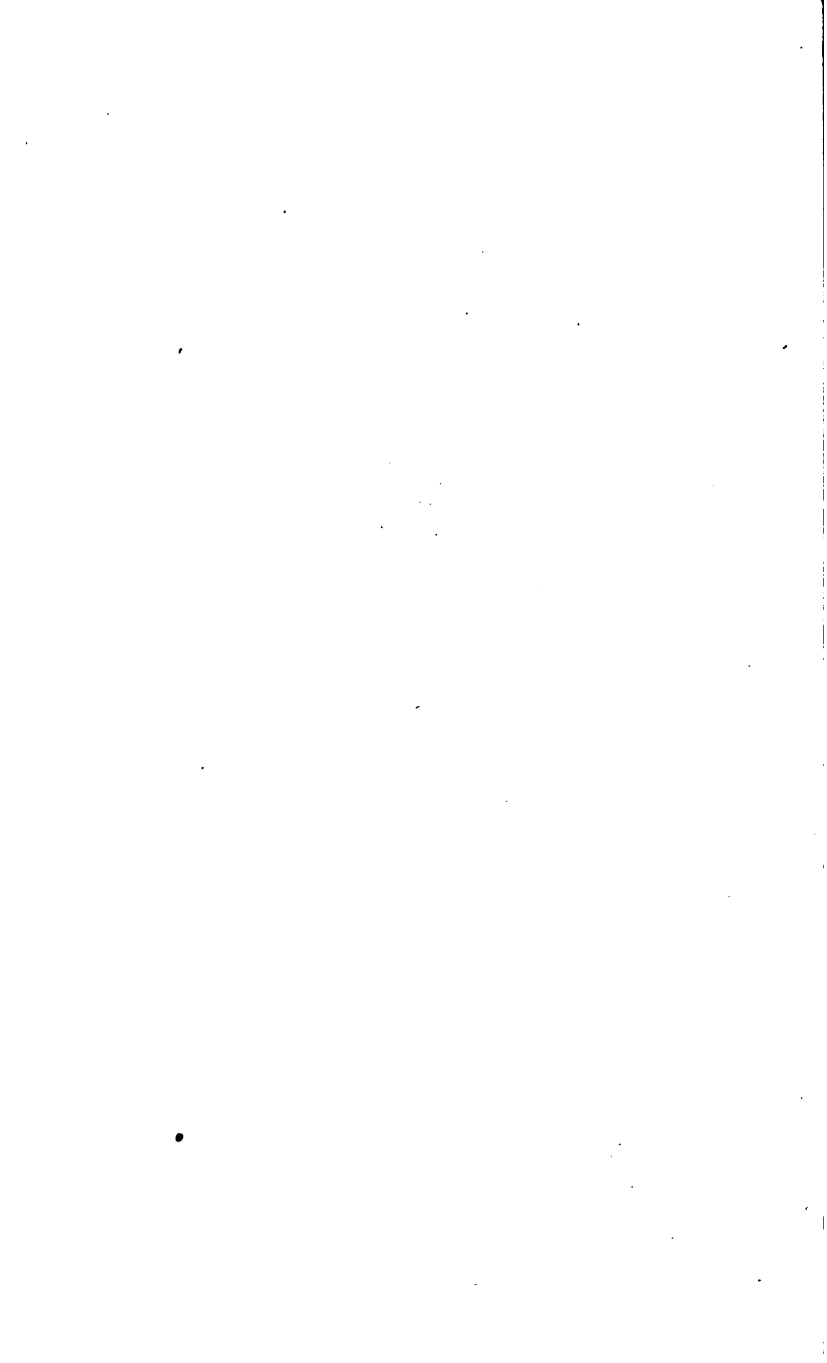
SELECTIONS FROM LECTURES ON GREEK LITERATURE.

I. HOMER.—HOMERIC COMPOSITION	77
II. HOMER.—THE ILIAD	100
III. HOMER.—THE ODYSSEY, HYMNS, BATRACHOMY- OMACHIA, ETC.	120
IV. HESIOD.—CYCLIC POETS	143
V. THE DARK AGES AFTER HOMER	163
VI. LYRIC POETS	189
VII. DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF THE GREEKS	213

SELECTIONS FROM SERMONS, PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED.

I. THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON	237
II. MEMORY OF THE RIGHTEOUS	256
III. JUSTICE, CHARITY, UNANIMITY, IN RELIGION	274
IV. JESUS WEPT	321
V. THANKSGIVING FOR PEACE	337

NOTES	371
-----------------	-----



° BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF THE
REV. JOHN SNELLING POPKIN,
BY
C. C. FELTON.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

THE recent death of Dr. John Snelling Popkin, formerly Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University, has reawakened, in the memories of a long line of Cambridge graduates, the sad and pleasant associations of college life. For many years he was the most conspicuous figure among those who constituted what was formerly called "the Government"; and for several years preceding his death, he was the last of the humorists remaining of that ancient and respectable body. The relations between the University Professors and society at large have greatly changed within a period of twenty or thirty years, and the traditional seclusion of academic life belongs not to the present. Social influences now mould the manners and temper the character within the precincts of the University, as much as in the circles of general society. Dr. Popkin belonged to a period of scholastic habits, now gone, and to a condition of society which has passed away, never to return. But his life and labors fill an important chapter in the College annals, and cover an interesting period in the existence of Harvard University; and certain it is, that no one of the

distinguished Professors of his time made a deeper impression on the minds of his pupils.

The most retired life has complicated connections. It gradually weaves around itself a web of relations, and becomes the centre of a circle of social interests. By and by, as time passes on, the web begins to be unravelled, and the ties of life to be loosened. New interests, other men, come up, and one by one the old relations fall away. Friends wander to other regions, or are absorbed in their own concerns, or die. The fire is quenched on the domestic hearth ; and, if the man have no heirs to his blood and his name, he finally vanishes from the earth, leaving only the shadow of his personality, in the memory of his influence, or the presence of his surviving works. The life of a man is a tragic poem, if not a tragedy ; it has its beginning, its far-off motive powers, which, like the inexorable Fate of the ancients, control its course invisibly.

“ There 's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will ! ”

It has a process with unseen but certain springs ; a development, a catastrophe ; and death at last, either peacefully or stormily, closes the scene, and harmonizes the conflicting passions of the piece. With this dramatic unity, — this succession of scenes and acts, all bound together, — this certain march of events to a fixed conclusion, — this finishing stroke of death, — one is strangely impressed, while examining the posthumous papers of a departed friend, in their regular order, from childhood to old age. No tragedy ever written by man works so deeply on the feelings, touches so nearly the heart. I have felt this interest of the drama of human life excited in me by examining the papers of Dr. Popkin. It was my desire, and that of many other friends, that his memory should not be lost in the narrow circle and fading traditions of the Uni-

versity. I should gladly have seen another more skilful hand performing this pious office to the memory of the departed.

But my connection with him was somewhat peculiar. The earliest name of a clergyman that I remember is that of Dr. Popkin. I was born in Newbury during his settlement in that town, and, though not belonging to his parish, the anecdotes of his singular character, and the peculiarity of his name, impressed themselves on my memory. Leaving Newbury in childhood, I had no personal acquaintance with him until 1823, when my class entered college. The Greek examiners on that occasion were a distinguished trio, — Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. George Bancroft, and Dr. Popkin, — two of whom have since represented the United States at the Court of St. James. Soon after I had entered college, I resumed an independent course of Greek studies, already commenced under my learned and revered teacher, Mr. Simeon Putnam, of the Franklin Academy, in Andover; and whenever I needed advice or assistance, I did not hesitate, through any fear of the charge of what, in the College cant, was called “fishing,” to ask it of Dr. Popkin. It is needless to say that it was always freely and ably and cheerfully rendered. Thus it happened, that, notwithstanding the reserve of his manner, a degree of acquaintance grew up between us, very unusual in those times between the scholars and the professors. A few years later, I became his assistant; next, his colleague, as College Professor of Greek. When he retired from the service of the University, I was appointed his successor; and to the end of his life I was his friend. And I was one of the few of his old associates who knew of his death soon enough to pay the last rites of respect and honor to his name, by attending his funeral. From these circumstances, the office of preparing this slight

memorial seemed naturally to fall upon me ; and though multiplied engagements occupied my time, I could not hesitate to undertake a duty so accordant with the feelings of respect I shall ever cherish for the memory of my instructor, predecessor, and friend.

The name and ancestors of Dr. Popkin came to this country from Wales, by way of Ireland. In an amusing paper found among his manuscripts, he says there was a tradition that the family "were proprietors of some estate, and, by the courtesy of England, styled gentlemen and esquires. By the courtesy of New England, we are all gentlemen and ladies." "The old Boston folks always called us Popkins, but we have always rejected the sibilant letter. The ancient Saxons are not acquainted with the true Kymri. We are a very ancient people, who derive our descent from Noah, and thus from Adam, by Gomer, the first-named son of Japheth, thus : *Gomerim*, Hebrew ; *Kimmerii*, Greek ; *Cimbri*, *Kymri*, or rather *Kumbri*, or ratherest, *Kimwri*, Latin ; *Kymri*, or *Kimri*, *Cambria*, and *Cumbria*, modern Welsh or British. I write the word *Kymri* as I have seen it written, for we have not retained the language in our peregrinations. Where Washington Irving picked up his Alderman Popkins, in the Tales of a Traveller, I know not ; but his Italian host has the name more correctly, though he has somewhat Italicized the title : *Milor Almanno, Aldermanno Popkin*."

The parents of John Snelling Popkin were John Popkin and Rebecca Snelling, both citizens of Boston, where they resided mostly, till her decease, about 1794, and where he was born on the 19th of June, 1771. His father served as an officer of some distinction in the army of the American Revolution. He entered the service at Cambridge in 1775, as a captain of artillery, and continued

until the close of the war in 1783, having attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Massachusetts regiment. After the war, he removed to Bolton, in Worcester County, and invested his property, consisting of public securities, in a country store, and afterwards in a farm; both of which proved unsuccessful speculations. Having lost his wife by death, he afterwards married Mrs. Sarah Sargeant, a niece of the Rev. Eliakim Willis of Malden, and soon removed to that town, where he resided till his death, in 1827, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. "He was remarked," says Dr. Popkin in the paper already referred to, "for walking mostly to Boston, and returning, nearly every day in the year, except Sabbaths. The distance is about three miles. He was an inspector of the customs. This duty and exercise he continued till after he was eighty-four years old. He kept a horse and chaise on the farm, and sometimes rode to and from Malden Bridge, about a mile, but more commonly walked all the way. He had been weakly in his youth, and unwell in his middle age, but more healthy in his old age, and he lived nearly eighty-five years. His daily walk, under Providence, probably improved his health. His walk, I think, would compass the globe more than once."

The son was placed, when six years old, under the charge of the Rev. Eliakim Willis, who taught him the rudiments of Latin. He committed to memory Cheever's *Accidence*, with the list of irregular verbs at the end; a nomenclator in Latin and English; then the *Syntax of Ward's Grammar* in Latin. "These were dry morsels," he remarks, "but haply wholesome and nutritive. I had a quick and tenacious memory; and my master, when he had company, used to call me up to answer questions from the Bible and other sources." At this early period, his strongest inclination was for scientific studies, — such as

algebra and geometry, in which he made some proficiency out of school.

Six years later he was transferred to the North Latin School, in Boston, where he remained until his father removed to the country. In the country he grew up a tall farmer boy, and began to swing a scythe. On returning to the city, Mr. Popkin, having become satisfied that his son was a boy of uncommon promise, and learning that there were funds at the disposal of the University authorities for the assistance of poor scholars, replaced him under the care of Mr. Davies of the Latin School, who superintended his studies until he was prepared to enter college.

He was admitted at Cambridge in 1788, at the age of seventeen, and, having distinguished himself above all his competitors, took his Bachelor's degree in 1792. He states that his favorite studies were history and mathematics; but in college he was alike eminent in every department of literature and science included in the required course. The papers preserved from this period show extraordinary industry, and a range of reading very uncommon with college students. There is a book, commenced in 1789, and containing over one hundred pages of themes, essays, translations, notes of lectures, critical observations on passages from the poets or on single words, and general reflections. Among other like discussions, there is a criticism on *oŏda*. The following passage, under the head of "Reflections on Myself," will give an idea of the style and manner of thought of the young student.

"A few days since, all nature wore a gloomy aspect. My friends appeared to have become bitter enemies. Every thing thwarted me; every thing was fenced with insurmountable difficulties. I could not master a single exercise. Not one proposition in Enfield was penetrable;

not one seemed to be demonstrated. My prospects were all shrouded in darkness ; my hopes were all dashed to the ground. What brought me to this melancholy situation ? One or two performances had not been applauded in my hearing. I supposed they were not well received. In addition to these mighty evils, I was accused of a fault of which I did not suspect myself guilty. Weak fool ! You could not recollect that it is the duty of a friend not to inflame our natural vanity by flattering us to our face. You think, that, because you have performed one or two things passably, it is impossible not to hold the summit of perfection. Rather think, that, if ever you produced any thing worthy of attention, it was the effect of chance.

“ Two or three days after, a friend gave me some slight intimations that my performances were not despicable. It is more than probable he had observed my dejection, guessed the cause, which, perhaps, the real state of facts rendered it easy to divine, and said as much as he could consistently with his conscience to restore my drooping spirits. What was the effect ? The world assumed more than common gayety. Every thing around me was light, joy, and hope. The propositions of Enfield, so incomprehensible before, were clear as the day. Still weaker fool ! to be thus elated by an act of pity towards you ! to be thus driven up and down by the least puff of wind ! Let this caution you for the future to do your duty without regard to praise or dispraise ; and then, whether it be bestowed or not, you will perhaps behave more consistently. Let this reflection dispel the cloud which again rises from your spleen, swollen by a small disappointment of the same kind.

“ One remark of a different kind occurs. This weakness of the intellect, arising from dejection, is a strong instance of a proposition which I have heretofore advanced, namely, that it is a great bar to one's advancement in science to have a constant conviction of his weakness. Hence I inferred that it was a great disadvantage to the cause of literature to oblige every one in a university to attend to studies in which he could not make any progress.”

His public performances, of which he speaks with humorous disparagement in one of the notes to his Three

Lectures, are marked by maturity of thought, and a free, flowing, and eloquent manner. "At taking my first degree, in 1792," says he, "I bawled like a calf for France and Liberty." I give a short passage from the valedictory oration delivered by him on that occasion.

"That thralldom which had long depressed the greater part of mankind to the rank of beasts, and that indignant spirit of freedom which now hurls off the disgraceful yoke, would engage our warmest attention, had it not been for years the theme of every masterly pen. With transport the benevolent mind sees the great body of mankind rousing from the lethargy of ages, and maintaining their native equality with those whom hereditary ignorance had taught them to view as a superior order of beings. Although we lament that our great allies are at present challenged to defend their liberties at the expense of their lives, we trust that they will easily rise superior to the last agonizing struggle of expiring tyranny. We may felicitate *ourselves* that *our* remaining part in the cause of freedom is to maintain that independence of sentiment and conduct which is the sole support of public liberty.

"But what is this independence so necessary to render a person truly respectable and dignified? In its genuine character it has nothing inconsistent with the mild virtues and graces of benevolence. On the contrary, the same magnanimity which elevates the soul above the pursuit of interest or favor by mean compliances and servile imitations, would teach it to scorn those arts which gratify a haughty indifference or a groundless sense of superiority.

"The uncivil, the resentful, and the imperious, however they may flatter themselves with the idea of being independent, little deserve a title so exalted. Life derives almost all its happiness from the kind attentions and the mild, forgiving disposition, which humanity inspires. Most of the animosities and the rankling hate which embitter the intercourse of men arise from incidents which a mind truly independent would not deign to notice. Such a mind would not be appalled by the charge of a cowardly want of spirit; which is, perhaps, the principal source of that high sense of honor which many affect to display.

"By this gentle, accommodating temper is not meant

the low art of pleasing, which is taught by men of the world. The latter is the effect of selfishness, and its instruments are every species of meanness and flattery, which is not too gross to be concealed. The former flows from a bosom warmed with the love of mankind ; it is the unaffected effusion of generous nature, corrected by a manly sense of duty."

After taking his degree, he continued in Cambridge the greater part of the time for a year and a half, receiving a portion of the Hopkinton foundation.* During three months of this time he taught a school in Woburn, and afterwards gave private instruction in a family in Cambridge. The following year he passed at home, in Boston, and in January, 1795, he received the appointment of Greek Tutor in the College. He took the degree of Master of Arts the same year. He held the office of Tutor until the Commencement of 1798. The reputation he enjoyed, and the ability and fidelity with which he discharged every duty, will be seen from the following sketch of him at this time, for which I am indebted to the friendly interest of the Hon. Daniel A. White, of Salem.

" Dr. Popkin was just five years before me in college, and also in age. When I entered the University, in 1793, he was a resident graduate in the study of divinity. His manly, erect form and dignified air distinguished him at once ; but what fixed my attention upon him was his celebrity as a scholar. He had the reputation of being the first scholar, not only of his own class, but among all the Harvard graduates since the Revolution. It was commonly reported that President Willard regarded him as preëminent above all others who had been graduated in his day. Nor was he less esteemed for his virtues than for his talents and learning. The late Dr. Pierce, who was one year after him, used to say, that through his whole college life he looked up to Popkin as his model in all excellence.

* A fund left by Mr. Hopkins, then consisting in rents from certain lands in Hopkinton, — a town named in honor of Mr. Hopkins.

“ My recollection of Mr. Popkin, at this period, is very vivid and distinct, though I had no personal acquaintance with him till after he was appointed Tutor. In my Sophomore year, at the end of the winter vacation, February, 1795, I first met him, — most gladly, too, — as our Tutor in the Greek department. He was then but twenty-three years old, and had not yet attained to his Master's degree. But no one exceeded him in manliness and dignity of character. Though he was exact and critical at our recitations, he inspired much respect and affection by his mild and courteous, yet firm manner, and the impression he gave of superior excellence in his disposition as well as in learning. He was, indeed, so affable, kind, ready to communicate, and pleasant in answering inquiries, that we soon felt at home in his recitation-room. Although he made no display of his learning, yet he would occasionally entertain us with brief comments, or remarks, alike ingenious and instructive, and often enlivened by touches of his peculiar simplicity and humor. There was, generally, nothing repulsive in his disposition or manner; but he was of too lofty a spirit to bear from the students the least approach to insult without instantly and indignantly rebuking it. In this, however, he was actuated by a high sense of duty quite as much as by personal feeling. He was never betrayed into the exhibition of any petty passion or unworthy resentment. His devotion to duty was manifestly the master-principle of his conduct. Such a spirit as this, you know, is sure to render a college instructor ultimately popular, as well as respected. He may have to pass through scenes of severe trial in his intercourse with the students, but he will come out as gold purified in the furnace. This was strikingly the case with Tutor Popkin. He had very early to encounter what his brother Tutor, Barron, used to call ‘ fighting with the beasts at Ephesus.’ And I am sorry to say, that in his case these were of my own class. But we were Sophomores.

“ Within a few weeks after Mr. Popkin's arrival among us our public examination came on. This, as was then customary, was conducted in the presence of the Corporation and Overseers, by the Professors and Tutors in their respective departments, — the whole class being together the

whole time. During part of my college life I kept a brief diary, and am thus enabled to relate more particularly some circumstances illustrative of Mr. Popkin's character as a tutor.

"On the morning of our examination, Tuesday, April 7, 1795, at breakfast, the whole class, excepting four or five, left the Commons Hall before thanks were returned, and Mr. Popkin, who sat at the head of the Tutors' table, fined them all five shillings each, naturally supposing their conduct the result of a combination. It had been usual for any student to go out at breakfast or dinner time, upon looking respectfully to the head Tutor, and, with obeisance, taking implied leave. As we were directed to appear in the Philosophy Chamber an hour earlier than usual, betokening, as we thought, a stricter examination, some one of the class at breakfast started the idea of quitting the hall in a body, to show our want of time, and this was so promptly circulated, that nearly all took and obeyed the impulse. Mr. Popkin as promptly obeyed his impulse of duty, and inflicted the fine immediately. This produced a great commotion in the class, which, for the time, overcame all respect for dignities, and caused an abundance of queer mistakes in construing Greek at the examination. 'Blunders were so ingeniously made as to move even the risibles of the Corporation. We were kept nearly two hours in reading about a hundred lines.'

"The next day, as the Tutors were retiring from the hall, some of the Sophomores hissed; and upon a repetition of the insult on the following day, Mr. Popkin, turning a little back, ordered the Sophomores, with such energy of spirit and manner, to depart from the hall, that they instantly obeyed, and marched off before him. But on the next occurrence of the scene, they refused to move in a body, every individual remaining till he was personally addressed. This was too tedious a process to be again repeated.

"Notwithstanding the unwarrantable conduct of the class at their Greek examination, the College government remitted the fine inflicted by Mr. Popkin. On announcing this to the class, he observed that, in justice to himself, he must say that he was opposed to it, and that

he still thought the punishment deserved. Many of the class were ready to applaud him for his firmness and consistency, knowing that he had good cause for inflicting the fine, though they had so earnestly beset the government to take it off. One of the most distinguished of the class exclaimed on the occasion, 'After all, Popkin is the noblest fellow among them.' He certainly rose in the estimation of the class in consequence of these difficulties. The energy, and spirit, and noble bearing, and manifest sense of duty, which marked his conduct throughout, inspired them with the highest respect and regard.

"I find connected with the original account of these matters the following remarks, written many years since, — so long ago that I had forgotten them: 'Mr. Popkin was a high-minded, noble-spirited man, intent upon doing his whole duty fearlessly and faithfully, and had held the first rank in scholarship and general excellence of character; and he could not brook the petty, mean, and dishonorable insults offered to him, and his indignation led him to notice them in a manner which more experience taught him to improve. He finally became highly popular, — popular from the respect he inspired by his learning, integrity, single-heartedness, purity of character, open, frank, yet tender and affectionate manner of treating all with whom he had intercourse, whether for encouragement or discipline. At this time I did not know Dr. Popkin as he became known to me afterwards. I have never met with a nobler combination of pure principles, pure feelings, pure benevolence, and pure motives, with true piety, virtue, and learning, than I have found in him.' Mr. Popkin, as you know, resigned his Tutorship immediately after Commencement, in July, 1798."

As it was Mr. Popkin's intention to consecrate his life to the Christian ministry, he devoted that portion of his time which was not occupied with official duties to the study of theology, under the direction of the Rev. Professor Tappan of Cambridge, and the Rev. Dr. Eliot of Boston. He began to preach a short time before he resigned the office of Tutor. After the Commencement of 1798, he

supplied the pulpit several months in Londonderry, N. H. Mr. Jabez Kimball, a classmate of Judge White's, and the young man who uttered the exclamation mentioned in the passage just given, — then and during the remainder of his life one of Mr. Popkin's most ardent friends, — was now a law student in Londonderry, and doubtless the means of his being engaged to preach there. With this gentleman he occasionally corresponded. After Mr. Kimball's death three letters from Mr. Popkin were found among his papers; the first is dated May 19, 1798, in answer to an application to preach there. The second was written from Boston, and dated January 7, 1799, while he was preaching to the Federal Street Society, and before his settlement. It is chiefly taken up with the exciting political subjects of the day. "I have of late," he says, "been somewhat in company with men of news and information, but do not recollect any very profound political discussion, or important intelligence. There seems to be a general pause, an anxious and silent expectation of the communication of the President relating to France, and the measures which will be taken in Congress on this all-absorbing subject. The speech of the President, which we admired together, for its moderation, wisdom, dignity, firmness, and energy, is not sufficiently warm for some of our ardent spirits. But it appears to me, that, while he shows himself desirous of peace, he says and proposes as much as the most violent threats of hostility would contain, and with much greater effect." The letter concludes with, "My love to all the ladies."

About this time, he supplied the pulpit several weeks in Wenham. Mr. Charles Saunders, to whom I am indebted for many pleasant and characteristic reminiscences of Dr. Popkin, some of which will be introduced in their proper place, says : —

“ My first recollection of Dr. Popkin dates from the summer of 1798, the time when I entered College. He examined our division in Greek, when his appearance attracted our good opinion, on account of his straightforward manner, and his good temper and leniency to our deficiencies. I did not meet him again until about two years after, when I called upon him, by the request of the parish committee of Wenham, to supply the pulpit made vacant by the dismissal of the Rév. Adoniram Judson. He agreed to go, and preached there several weeks, affording much gratification to the most intelligent of his hearers, by his liberal, pious, and able discourses, and by his social intercourse with their family circles. My father and mother were particularly pleased with him, and never ceased to remember him with friendly feelings as long as they lived. My mother related to me, that when preaching in Wenham one Sunday, during the afternoon service, a violent wind, accompanied by rain, lightning, and very loud thunder, occurred. Near the close of the sermon, the noise was so loud that he left reading and sat down. After it subsided, he finished his discourse, and in his closing prayer alluded, in a sublime and most touching manner to this war of the elements, and to Him who walketh upon the wings of the wind, and maketh the clouds his chariot.”

Mr. Popkin was ordained as pastor of the Federal Street Society, in Boston, on the 16th of July, 1799, succeeding Dr. Jeremy Belknap. He sustained the ministerial office here three years. The society was a highly intellectual one, and Mr. Popkin, whose modesty led him always to underrate his own abilities, soon began to fancy himself misplaced. Some of the eccentricities of his character and manners here displayed themselves more prominently than they had hitherto done. His preaching, however, was very impressive and acceptable to his parishioners, and is still remembered by some of the older members of the society. The following letter, written before the close of the first year of his ministerial life,

contains a vivid sketch of one of his painful experiences, and an intimation of the state of his mind with regard to his position in the city.

"Boston, December 3d, 1799.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I confess myself tardy in answering your very obliging and agreeable letter. A press of business, which ill-health and inactivity render laborious, and a variety of engagements, which my new connection with the society renders more frequent than common, I hope will procure indulgence. I ought sooner to have expressed my sympathy with you in your multiplied and severe distresses, which, I pray, a Christian philosophy may enable you to sustain and improve. A firm and rational belief in a Divine Providence is the only anchor of the soul which is sure and steadfast. And why should not He who made these worlds, and whose presence pervades them, regulate all their affairs, and that according to infinite perfection?

"I attended your unhappy friend Bates* in his last sickness. It would have been too sad a spectacle for you to bear. A noble mind in ruins! The raging of delirium, and the unintelligible sounds of idiotism were all that remained of a bright intellect and an amiable soul. His sickness was a nervous fever, brought on, as his father believes, by excessive anxiety concerning his studies and success in the world. From the time that he applied to the study of the law, his father remarked this extreme solicitude, and disinclination to amusement or sociability, and fear of losing a moment. When he studied divinity, he had the same anxiety lest he should not be adequate, or obtain a situation favorable to his views. This is his father's opinion. I asked him whether he appeared to be oppressed with religious affections after he began to study law. He said, No; but he thought his great concern, in every case, was to be eminent in what he undertook, and that this was the state of his mind while studying divinity, and the cause of his leaving it. Whether his father judged rightly, those who had a more intimate access to

* A classmate of Mr. Kimball, and a very promising young man.

his mind can best determine. I am induced to believe that this whole melancholy affection, though it operated in various directions, took its origin from that first strain which was given to his nerves in College, by the rack of his gloomy tormentors. You will excuse me for calling up to your recollection these sorrowful ideas, because I thought I possessed particular information on a subject very dear to you which you might wish to receive.

"Concerning ourselves, you say you droop in obscurity. I wilt in the meridian sun. We ought to change places. This town agrees neither with the health of my body nor the turn of my mind. Derry is much too witty and shrewd for me. I ought to have some plain place, where the people are content with knowing fair weather from foul. In the mean time, my people are very worthy and friendly. They do every thing in their power to make me happy; and since these things are so, I must do every thing in my power to serve them. If you are not yet in so public a station as I am, I trust you will rise to one more public.

"Yesterday I helped make a Tutor of our friend White. I wish him more ease and satisfaction than I had, and doubt not he will obtain them. I am sure he deserves them.

"Brother Pipon has a call at a congenial place, Taunton, which I understand he is to accept next Sabbath. The famous John Foster was their last minister. On some difference, he told them he would serve them worse than ever the Devil would; that is, he would leave them.

"Please to give my respects to Mr. Prentice and his family, and to all my friends. I shall always be happy to hear from you, and to see you, if it be possible.

"Accept my best wishes for your happiness.

"JOHN S. POPKIN.

"MR. JABEZ KIMBALL."

In 1802 he was dismissed, at his own request, having become persuaded, in the modest and humble estimate he placed upon his own qualifications, that he was not fitted to discharge, as they should be discharged, the responsible duties required of a clergyman in such a community. It

ought to be added, that his parishioners did not share in this opinion, though they yielded to his earnest desire to withdraw from the society. In his letter requesting a dismission, he dwells upon the broken state of his health. He says also, "I received a strong impression that I could no longer hope to be useful to the society, even with the enjoyment of health and tranquillity. . . . I apprehend that, under existing circumstances, I could not resume the work of the ministry with you to mutual satisfaction and advantage. . . . You will now permit me to declare that I feel, and ever have felt, a sincere esteem and friendship for the society, and a lively gratitude for your kindness and candor. If there have been any contrary appearances, they have arisen from bodily infirmity, and extreme anxiety concerning my services. . . . I cannot conceal the mortification that I suffer, when I consider that my ministry with you has proved such a disappointment."

Mr. Popkin continued the study of the classics while in Boston with great zeal, and had the same scholarly passion that distinguished him through life for the Greek. This gave rise to a whimsical suspicion. He was fond of walking his chamber and reading aloud, or repeating, *ore rotundo*, long passages from his beloved Homer. The worthy man at whose house he lived, more familiar with the dialect spoken on 'Change than with the Epic hexameter, heard from time to time, as he passed through the hall or happened to be in an adjoining room, these strange, and to him outlandish sounds. As he listened from day to day, he began to fear that all was not right with the minister, and dropped startling hints that such inexplicable sounds could not come from a man who was in a sane state of mind. "So much I got for my Greek," said the Doctor, when he related the anecdote, many years after.

Mr. Popkin had a brother, William, about twelve years younger than himself. He was graduated in 1803, studied divinity, and preached; but occupied himself chiefly with teaching school. He died in the spring of 1827. This mention of William Popkin is made to introduce in this place two letters, written from Boston in 1800. They will be found interesting, not only for the good sense and good advice they contain, but for the picture they present of one side of college life, and of the academical principles, prevailing at that time. I believe little or nothing of the kind exists at present in the relations between the students and Professors.

"Boston, September 19th, 1800.

"MY DEAR BROTHER, —

"I was made exceedingly happy by the account which my friend and yours, Mr. Hedge, gave me of your triumph over the absurd and disorderly conduct of your class. Depend upon it, that it was the triumph of reason. I doubt not that your reason approves it; and I am confident that those who now, perhaps, insult you, will approve conduct like yours, when they come to the mature use of that reason of which they appear to be bereft by the puerile, but daring, opinions and practices of the College. You will readily perceive that I allude to your denying yourself to their mob-like attendance on one under sentence of government, and appearing first in your place at the lecture. Though this action of yours might not be fully understood nor appreciated by those who are not acquainted with the state and customs of a college, yet I, who have had a long experience of them, and know the difficulty of standing firm against the mad impulse and clamor of almost a whole class, pronounce it to be a great and a manly action. I know it to be as difficult and trying in your situation, and to manifest as firm and conscientious a disposition, as those more important actions of statesmen who undauntedly pursue their duty, unmoved by the popular tumult and resentment.

"Do not think, then, that I give you unkind advice, or

enjoin upon you too hard a duty, when I exhort you to persist, with firm, undeviating step, in the path of reason, rectitude, and honor. I am aware that this steady, virtuous course may sometimes expose you to the resentment of those who, from passion and prejudice, despise whatever deserves esteem. I am apprehensive that you may at present be assailed with this persecution. But is the opinion of such persons worth fearing or courting? Is the applause of thousands for doing wrong to be weighed against one whisper of your conscience that you have done right? If you are attacked by the enmity of those rash, inconsiderate youth, be satisfied with the esteem of the wise and the virtuous. If they attempt to destroy your peace, take your consolation in the approbation, love, and sympathy of your father, your brother, and your judicious friends. Surely, your conscience, your friends, and the favor of the wise and good, are sufficient to support and comfort you under any difficulties which you may have to encounter; and to prompt you to take without hesitation the side of duty and honor, whenever any new occasion shall try your independence. Habituate yourself to act always from reason and conscience. To them resort for advice, and abide firmly by their decisions. Treat them with due respect, and they will guide you to the right in every case, and will amply reward you with safety and satisfaction. The very consciousness of obeying their dictates, of having your resources and government within yourself, gives an elevation, strength, and tranquillity to the mind, which enable it easily to repel all reproach and contumely, when they are not deserved. The path of duty, though it may sometimes lead to arduous toils, is the only path of safety. But he who is weak enough to seek his peace and happiness only under the reign of that capricious tyrant, popularity, has subjected himself to a slavery which will continually demand new sacrifices, and reward them only with shame.

“While you think and act for yourself, you can still be courteous to all who will admit your courtesy. And while you keep yourself in order, I would not assign to you the hopeless task of setting up for a reformer of the

opinions and manners of the scholars. If there should be any considerable tendency to good order and decency, you can safely add your influence, so far as it may be of weight. But till that is the case, it will be best to avoid contention and abuse by prudence. Give no offence, do your duty, and do not suffer yourself to be grieved by the malevolence and taunts of those who would call you a good fellow, if you were less deserving of a good name. Let such principles guide you; and whatever present trouble they may cost, you will find abundant solace and compensation in your own bosom and in the bosoms of your friends, of whom I have the pleasure to style myself,

"Your affectionate brother,

"JOHN S. POPKIN."

"Boston, October 17th, 1800.

"DEAR BROTHER,—

"I am sensible that the good conduct which I have advised you, and which, I doubt not, you are inclined to preserve, may expose you to the opprobrious epithet, *fishing*. You undoubtedly understand, by this time, the meaning of that frightful term, which has done more damage in college than all the bad wine, and roasted pigs, that have ever fired the frenzy of *Genius*! The meaning of it, in short, is nothing less than this, that every one who acts as a reasonable being in the various relations and duties of a scholar is using the basest means to ingratiate himself with the government, and seeking by mean compliances to purchase their honors and favors. At least, I thought this to be true when I was in the government. If times and manners are altered, I am heartily glad of it; but it will not injure you to hear the tales of former times. If a scholar appeared to perform his exercises to his best ability, if there were not a marked contempt and indifference in his manner, I would hear the whisper run round the class, *fishing*. If one appeared firm enough to perform an unpopular duty, or showed common civility to his instructors, who certainly wished him well, he was *fishing*. If he refused to join in some general disorder, he was insulted with *fishing*. If he did not appear to despise the esteem and approbation of his instructors, and

to disclaim all the rewards of diligence and virtue, he was suspected of *fishing*. The fear of this suspicion or imputation has, I believe, perverted many minds which, from good and honorable motives, were better disposed. And it has, I fear, too general an influence on the manners, characters, and pursuits of the scholars, making them sacrifice their honest principles and wishes to the capricious and lawless idol, Popularity. Some, who are most forward to show their contempt of government and honor, might spare themselves the trouble. I used to think, when I met such persons, 'You need not be afraid of coming to honor; your common appearance will save you from it, without any particular efforts.' But the fact is, that, being conscious of not deserving it, they wish to make it appear that their want of it is the consequence of their own choice or refusal. And the misfortune is, that these persons, being the most noisy and the farthest from modesty, too often give the tone and impulse to the whole society. I would not extend this reproach to many of the scholars. I would rather believe that the majority are oppressed and overpowered by the fear of the reproach of this *Jacobinic* minority. But I blame them for submitting their own reason to the others' passions.

"Now, to apply the antidote; it is a first principle by which we ought ever to be governed, the only principle of safety and satisfaction, that no motives, however forcibly addressed to our feelings, or fears, or desires, should be permitted to impel us to deviate for a moment from our *duty*; that duty which we owe to God and to our own character and happiness, as his rational and accountable creatures. Compared with this principle, how are the sneers or flatteries of a mad multitude worthy of the least regard? Shall we have less respect for our benign Creator than for those who disgrace and endanger themselves by offending him? Shall the still, small voice of reason be less persuasive than the clamors of those who appear to have renounced their reason? Surrounded by the strong rampart of duty, we may firmly, and nobly, and easily repulse the irregular hosts of folly and vice. We may promise ourselves not only *security*, but *felicity*, from the laws and the will of the Supreme Governor. It

is impossible to find either of them in departing from the line which he has described. And it is surely his will, it is the injunction of reason, to promote, as far as we have power, (and that power extends, at least, to our own conduct,) the order, the honor, and the good effects of the societies in which we are placed ; and to make the best use of the means of improvement in knowledge and virtue with which we are privileged. Conscious of rectitude, and satisfied with the testimony of a good conscience, we may be content, even if others attribute our honest actions to dishonest motives. For, in the court of opinion, *Error* often sits *judge*, *Sophistry* is attorney, and the *Passions* are the jury. *Here*, what can avail the pleas of modest *Reason* !

“ But, further, there is no dishonor in wishing to deserve the approbation of the judicious. The love of praise is a strong principle of the heart ; it bespeaks a mind capable of improvement ; and though, when it is separated from the love of duty it is a dangerous traitor, yet when it is under this just command, it is a powerful auxiliary. It is a love of false praise which is the source of most of the mistakes among the students. A love of true praise would make them as honorable in their conduct as they are distinguished in their advantages. A desire of rational commendation implies that we love the good conduct for which we are willing to be commended. If those approve in whose judgment we can confide, it confirms and encourages the proceedings in the court of conscience. If I know myself, or any one else, I can advise you to have this confidence in the government, that, while they feel it to be their duty to discourage, and, if possible, to reform the vicious and indolent, they are ever ready and anxious to discern, to esteem, and distinguish the deserving. They cannot always discover what a scholar is or does in private ; but they are not slow to discern characters ; and you will not doubt that they are good judges of what appears. I should not dissemble that I wished for their approbation ; and I should wish it more for its own value than for any consequences which may (or may not) follow.

“ I will try to explain myself a little on this last sen-

tence. When the government approve one in any considerable degree, they commonly show it by the honors of college. Now, it is a laudable ambition to desire them. But it is more laudable to desire them as testimonies of their approbation than as marks of distinction; because their approbation is proof of your good conduct. And it is more commendable to wish to do as well as we can, than to be over-anxious to do better than others. The great principle must be, to employ our utmost faculties in the pursuit of knowledge and virtue, for *the sake of duty and usefulness*, and then, if honors come, they may be received with satisfaction, but without vanity; if they are not bestowed, we may find satisfaction in the higher principle of having done our duty. This should be the primary, though the love of honor may advantageously be a secondary, consideration. The ambition of holding the first place may produce great effects. But it must be strictly guarded from generating envy. But if we cannot be first, it is weak to give up every thing in despondency and indifference, as is frequently done by ambitious minds. We should still strive to make the greatest progress to which our powers can attain, and we shall not fail to be useful and respectable, and to gain and fill with contentment and gratitude the place which Nature, or her Author, has assigned. For we have, or ought to have, a better motive than comparison with others; it ought to be a comparison of our performances with our duties and abilities.

"I shall not often tire you with so long a letter, but I intend that you shall occasionally hear from me, and I shall be happy to hear from you.

"Yours with affection,

"JOHN S. POPKIN."

In 1804 Mr. Popkin accepted an invitation from the First Parish in Newbury, over which he was installed on the 19th of September in the same year. Here he remained until 1815, the object of the respect and affection of a rural, but very intelligent society, the surviving members of which cherish his memory with the liveliest interest.

But the learning and eloquence of Dr. Popkin attracted a large number of the most cultivated families and individuals in Newburyport, who entertained, not only the highest opinion of his abilities and scholarship, but retained ever afterwards the warmest feelings of regard. Fortunately for me, and for the other friends of Dr. Popkin, the Hon. Judge White, from whose letter I have already quoted, was one of them, and has furnished me in the same letter the following careful and excellent sketch of this period of his life, and of the publications which he was induced to give to the world.

“It was chiefly in his clerical character that I had better means than you of knowing Mr. Popkin. It so happened, that when he was installed over the First Church and Society in Newbury, September, 1804, I had just settled at Newburyport, in the immediate vicinity. Though not within the limits of his parish, I could not hesitate a moment to join the society, and become one of his permanent hearers. I knew him well enough to appreciate the privilege I should enjoy, and the more I knew him and the longer I enjoyed the rare privilege, the more dearly was it appreciated. His sound, intellectual, impressive, and truly Christian preaching drew many occasional hearers; and his well-known character as a man and a scholar, as well as minister, induced a number of respectable families in Newburyport, with several professional gentlemen, to become his parishioners. Excepting these, his society was composed principally of substantial farmers, with a few mechanics and seafaring men intermixed, but generally a very intelligent and well-informed people. The Rev. Dr. Tucker, their former pastor, was one of the ablest and most liberal divines of his day; and his instructions and influence prepared their minds and hearts for the sympathy and enjoyment of such a man as Mr. Popkin. He could not, I believe, have found a congregation of people better suited to his habits and turn of mind, or more disposed to a just appreciation of his worth. Assured, as he soon was, of their entire confidence and affection, he felt

no restraint among them from the peculiarities of temperament which he was so conscious of possessing, but enjoyed the utmost freedom in his social and parochial visits. Daily exercise in walking and on horseback, which these visits induced him to take, invigorated his health and spirits, so that he appeared to have a true relish for the pleasures of society among his people, and with his friends in Newburyport and the neighboring clergy, by all of whom he was held in high estimation. He had, moreover, with his habits of industry and strict temperance, leisure to pursue to some extent, almost every day, his favorite studies, especially in the Greek and Hebrew languages, which had the greater zest for him from being so intimately connected with his highest duties. There seemed to be nothing wanting to complete his happiness, but that blessing without which no man can be truly happy, and for which his tender, affectionate feelings, with his high appreciation of woman, so richly qualified him.

“Mr. Popkin had too sensitive a conscience, and too nervous a temperament, perhaps, to have felt satisfied in any congregation with the success of his ministerial labors, whatever it might have been. On this account, doubtless, he was the more ready to exchange his parish for a Professorship at Cambridge. But the people at Newbury valued him for his work's sake, as they loved him for his virtues, and their gratification from both was as complete as it was heartily felt. I can truly say, that I have no recollection of even a momentary feeling of dissatisfaction during the whole eleven years of his ministry, or of hearing a single expression of such a feeling from any of his people. Here I may be permitted to refer to a letter of mine, written to his friend, Dr. Hedge, and now in my hands, dated September 28, 1815, as expressing more truly than I now might express the feelings of his people upon being called to part with him. The following is an extract : —

“We, the good people of Dr. Popkin, are in great affliction at the prospect of parting with him for your sakes. Judge March, an aged and respectable member of his church, can hardly sustain it. He has lost one child after another, till he is nearly stripped ; but this, he says, is the

greatest loss of all. He says, "The demand made upon us is great, and I can compare it only to that made upon the young man in the Gospel,—to give up all that he had." Yet we have most cheerfully concurred in a mutual council, and agreed to accept their result. Our affection and attachment to Mr. Popkin are so great and so sincere, that it is not in our hearts to thwart his wishes, though to comply with them costs us the most painful sacrifices. I believe his separation from us will not diminish the friendship of this people to him. He has been really improving and growing upon us in ministerial excellences, and our esteem and affection for him have been proportionally increased, till it has become a settled habit of thinking and feeling with us, that he can have no thought, or feeling, or intention which is wrong. It gives me great satisfaction to find these people so properly impressed on the occasion, and that our friend can yield to his wishes in going to Cambridge without suffering as he would by any opposition. I feel the expected loss most sensibly, but I think you will find him a great acquisition to the University, and this is my best consolation.'

"By what means, it may well be asked, did Mr. Popkin get such possession of the hearts of his people? His ministerial gifts were not of a popular cast, nor did he ever appear to think of popularity, or of making any display of his gifts. The true answer is, that he did what those of the most popular talents often fail to do;—he consecrated himself to the service of his people with a fidelity and disinterestedness that gained him their constant approbation, respect, and gratitude. And the beautiful consistency of his whole life with his sacred office, and his perfect integrity and singleness of heart in all his relations with them, raised their confidence and affection to the highest degree. The duties he had assumed on entering the ministry were in his view of infinite moment, and in discharging them he manifested, especially in the pulpit, a deep and conscientious feeling of responsibility, which touched the hearts of his people with sympathy and reverence. Nor were these intrinsic qualities of a good minister unattended by exterior advantages. His whole appearance in the pulpit was prepossessing. His fine per-

son, clear, manly voice, natural, simple, yet dignified and impressive manner, attracted attention at once, while his fervid sincerity, tender, affectionate sympathy, and earnest interest in his subject and in his hearers, fixed their attention, and added greatly to the effect of what he delivered. His printed discourses, therefore, valuable as they are, give but a faint impression of his excellence as a preacher.

"In the communion service no one ever appeared to me to exceed him. Yet he uttered the fewest words possible, except in his prayers, on the occasion. His usual manner was to read from a small Bible in his hand St. Paul's brief account of the Lord's Supper; then, laying his Bible aside, to pour out his soul in prayers so fervent and appropriate, so full of sentiment, devotion, and pathos, as to bring the Saviour most touchingly before us, with feelings of deep interest in his dying love.

"Dr. Popkin was, in truth, a model minister, as he had been a model scholar. His pastoral duties, in season and out of season, were performed with a most hearty fidelity. The sick and the poor were never forgotten by him. His darling studies could not detain him a moment from any call to them. In all his parochial intercourse, he was so kind, sympathizing, and generous,—so frank, pleasant, and apt in his remarks and interchange of good feeling and good humor,—that he was a most welcome guest with every class of people, and made to feel that he was welcome, not only as their minister, but as a friend and companion.

"Among Dr. Popkin's many excellent qualities, he possessed two exalted virtues, or rather traits of mind and character, which raised him above most men whom I have ever known. First, his devotion to duty as the ruling principle, I might almost say the ruling passion, of his life; secondly, and growing out of the first, his devotion to the Bible as the source and standard of his Christian faith.

"You will remember his admirable lecture to the students,—the third of those published,—in which he says: 'A sense of duty, and a submission, or rather a devotion to it, is that which forms the man of worth, and virtue, and honor, and, commonly, of success. This is the only rul-

ing passion which will rule us with wisdom and discretion.' This sublime doctrine he exemplified in his own life.

"In his Farewell Discourse at Newbury, he says, what in some form or other is stated in almost all his discourses : 'We should search the Scriptures daily, and seek and be willing to know and receive the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' In this, also, he was an illustrious example of what he taught.

"As a theologian, Dr. Popkin was almost self-taught ; yet, in all essential respects, he was admirably well taught. He needed no further aid in his studies than what he found at the University, under the direction and influence of the excellent Dr. Tappan, Hollis Professor of Divinity. What was his course of study or exercises with the Professor I am unable to say. I remember listening with some interest, in my Freshman year, to a theological dissertation from him in the College Chapel, one evening after prayers ; which I suppose was a customary exercise for resident graduates who were students in divinity. There might have been several other theological students with him, but I have no remembrance of them. The influences of his education were conducive to the freedom from all sectarian bias for which he was so remarkable, and which naturally sprung from his innate love of the truth and his reverence for the Scriptures. He really believed that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, as he was not in Socrates, Plato, or Confucius ; that the Gospels were something more than the Memorabilia, and that the Bible was a holier book than the Shaster or the Koran. And he devoted his best powers to the study of the sacred Scriptures in the original languages, to ascertain their true meaning for himself, and to enable him to unfold it to others. He was just so much of a Calvinist, Arminian, Socinian, Hopkinsian, or other sectarian, as an honest, unbiased search of the Scriptures made him, and no more. He could not, of course, raise the colors of any sect or party. Christ was his Master, the Author and Finisher of his faith, and he could not assume a name which would seem to imply that he followed another. No uninspired men, as he thought, had authority to form a religious creed, except for themselves ; it being the right and the duty of

every one to seek the truth for himself. The exclamation of Peter, — ‘ Lord, to whom shall we go ? thou hast the words of eternal life,’ — was often repeated with hearty sympathy by Dr. Popkin. Some of his admiring, well-meaning friends, who could hardly conceive of a Christian minister without some sectarian name, were troubled to know what was his. And it is true, as you have related, and as I was told by himself, that he once replied, ‘ I am a Popkinsian.’ This, too, was no mere play upon words. It conveyed an important lesson to all who would be consistent followers of their rightful Master. Nor was it without good precedent, though original, doubtless, with Dr. Popkin. The learned Huet said of himself : ‘ If any man ask me what I am, — since I will be neither academic, nor sceptic, nor eclectic, nor of any other sect, — I answer that I am of my own opinion, that is to say, *free* ; neither submitting my mind to any authority, nor approving of any thing but what seems to me to come nearest the truth.’ *

“ Dr. Popkin was as desirous that others should think, reason, and judge for themselves, as he was determined to exercise this noble privilege himself. In illustration of his truly liberal spirit, I would recur again to his Farewell Discourse. ‘ In giving opinions,’ says he, ‘ I have sought to give reasons for them, rather than to save myself and you the trouble by sole and positive assertions.’ No man, indeed, was farther from dogmatizing, or indulging in airy speculations. ‘ If we attempt to be wise above what is written,’ he says, ‘ we only prove that the Author of the Word and of the mind is the best judge of the extent and limits of our understanding, and of what is best adapted for our instruction and government. We should wish to understand the Scriptures, and to employ our best faculties upon them, and to seek wisdom of God, with docility to receive his truth and his guidance.’ Much as he loved the truth, and earnest as he was to maintain and diffuse it, he had no fondness for controversy. ‘ The spirit of party,’ he thought, ‘ is not the spirit of truth. Violent contention is not the most expedient way of investigating the truth.’

* Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, p. 118.

‘Even if we have some sincere love, and some good knowledge of the truth, yet heated controversy mingles other objects and other motives with our better views and feelings, and thus obscures and perverts them.’ ‘I should venerate the man,’ he adds, ‘who could perceive and acknowledge the just force of the arguments of an antagonist ; or who could impartially collect the real arguments on all sides, and allow their just weight, and fairly draw the legitimate and proportionate conclusion. I should venerate his spirit and his ability. And I should still more venerate the man, who, in the midst of a controversy, could willingly yield to a sufficient force of reason, and frankly surrender a contested and untenable position. If I could be willing to call any man master, I could be almost willing to call such a man my master.’

“I know not who could be better entitled than Dr. Popkin himself to such veneration. Certainly I never knew a man whom I should be more willing to call my master. I should be sure he would only lead me, and in the best manner, directly to our common Master. To draw men to Christ, and imbue them with his mind and spirit, and make them enlightened, conscientious, earnest, practical Christians, was the burden of his prayers, the aim and effort of all his preaching.

“I must here give you one more passage from his last discourse to the people at Newbury : ‘My friends, I have often humbly commended you to God, unworthily, but sensible “whence cometh our help” and our hope. In the trying and affecting duties of the ministry, conscious of insufficiency, fearful of delinquency, knowing our dependence, and believing in mercy, I have often commended you and your friends to God ; not only in those broken effusions of the heart, which you have heard by the side of a sick friend, but in retiring, in secret, in the silent agony of grief, and contrition, and supplication.’

“Dr. Popkin’s humility as a Christian minister was as deep and sincere as his erudition was profound.

‘I venerate the man, whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.’

I did not till this moment think of recurring to Cowper's description of

‘a preacher, such as Paul,
Were he on earth, would hear, approve, and own.’

It is so applicable to our late venerated friend, that I must transcribe the whole : —

‘I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain,
And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
May feel it too; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men.
Behold the picture!’

What painter ever drew a more perfect likeness?

“I do not know how I can better answer your question, as to which of Dr. Popkin's published sermons would be of most interest to his old acquaintances and friends, than by taking a slight notice of them in the order of their publication. The first he published, — ‘A Discourse delivered in Haverhill, March 22, 1805, at the Funeral of Jabez Kimball, A. M., Attorney at Law,’ — was, I know, particularly interesting at the time of its delivery. At the request of Mr. Kimball's friends, among whom he ranked himself, he went to Haverhill, though at very short notice, to preach at his funeral. It appears to me very fitting that some portion at least of this discourse, both for the author's sake and that of his friend whose memory he thus honored, should accompany a memoir of Dr. Popkin. I therefore send you two or three extracts.

“The discourse is introduced as follows : — ‘These funeral rites, this mourning gloom, lead us to meditate on the mortality of man, the separation of friends, our own speedy departure. Must I press upon your attention, by a multitude of words, the brevity, the uncertainty of life, the inevitable approach of death, the promiscuous attacks of the destroyer, and the vanishing shades of human happiness? Alas! our friend there, where he lies low before you, speaks to you in a language which the preacher cannot express, till he descend to the same lowly

station. Pause, and consider it in the silence of the mind. To-day, you look pensive and dejected on this couch of death. To-morrow, it may be prepared for you. To-day, you behold yourselves as in a glass. To-morrow, you may go your ways, and forget what manner of persons you are.

“ Ah, no ! The friend we lament cannot be torn from the afflicted memory of his friends. The man we esteemed cannot be forgotten by those who knew his worth. The deep interest which now holds this assembly cannot be wholly left in the house of your solemnities. I will hope that you can think, that you can feel, that you can lay this sad case to your hearts. To the near and most deeply affected friends I will not do the injustice to say, Mourn no more. He was worthy of your tears. Nature, friendship, virtue, demand and excite your grief. Indulge these just affections. I would not resist their course. I would only help you to sorrow after a godly sort.’

“ ‘ Those who were connected with this our deceased brother by the strong ties of nature and of friendship are particularly called to listen to the truths and consolations of religion. This is no common loss, which they may bear with unconcern. This is no common event of Providence, which they may regard in tranquillity. The dead, whom they now bury out of their sight, had qualities to engage a warm esteem and friendship, and to secure an affectionate and lasting remembrance.’

“ ‘ Thou bereaved parent, who with a mother’s care, from his earliest days, hast watched his growth, his sickness and his health, the progress of his mind, his hopes and his reputation : ye near relatives and friends, who have witnessed and enjoyed his worth, his virtues, and his affections ; ye can read his character and history written in your hearts, in stronger, and warmer, and more durable lines than could be traced by the power of genius, prompted by the esteem which I sincerely cherish. For I, too, have known the man, the scholar, and the friend ; have been his instructor and his companion ; and never have I known one more friendly, more complacent, more attractive of friendship ; with most pleasant ease combining soundest sense and knowledge ; with an honest civility

tempering an apt and ready invention ; with a discriminating judgment correcting a quick apprehension ; with a keen perception of mankind preserving a steady and active regard to their welfare, to honorable and virtuous principles, to well-tried maxims and institutions of public utility. Ye who have been admitted to the secret of his soul can declare the honor, the correctness, the ardor, the manly tenderness, of his sentiments. Ye who have been associated with him in constant intercourse can witness to the undisturbed pleasantness of his life, the instructive ingenuity of his conversation, his unaffected preference of another's to his own enjoyment. Ye have seen him with firm and modest step, rising through the successive grades of life, — from happy presages, from academic honor, advancing to public respect, to useful station, to hopeful prospects. Ye have seen him arrived at the maturity of life and of mind, presenting copiously the fruits of a strong and vigorous intellect, enriched by culture, and corrected by experience. But he was seized in a vital part by a secret destroyer. You saw him sinking by a gradual, but irremediable decay. You felt his sufferings, and lamented his untimely decline ; but you heard not him complain. You were comforted by his patience, and cheered by his hope and resignation. The curtain of death is now drawn, and ye shall see his face no more ! But his memory will not perish. His image will be preserved in your hearts. Let his virtues live in your lives.'

"In the same year, 1805, Mr. Popkin published one of his most valuable and interesting sermons, entitled, 'An Attempt to recommend Justice, Charity, and Unanimity, in Matters of Religion.' It is an admirable discourse, from Rom. xii. 16, 'Be of the same mind one toward another,' applicable to all times and all conditions of society. The first sentence is characteristic of the author's manner of saying much in few words : 'Discerning men have often observed, that a principal cause of the differences and disputes of mankind is, that they do not understand one another ; sometimes not even themselves, or their subject. And a great cause of this misunderstanding is, that the will operates more than they are aware of, often more than reason.' The whole discourse, while it exhibits the genuine spirit of Christianity and the mutual

obligations of Christians, illustrates the author's own mind and spirit, and is a true picture both of Protestantism and 'Popkinsianism.'

" 'A Sermon preached May 4, 1806, the last Time of Assembling in the Old Meeting-House in the First Parish in Newbury,' contains interesting notices of that ancient society, and the worthy predecessors of Dr. Popkin, from the foundation of the church in 1635, and must always be valuable for its excellent sentiments as well as for its biographical sketches. The curious historical appendix contains more copious details of the old ministers, and is full of antiquarian interest. I am tempted to copy from it a sentence or two respecting the first minister, Rev. Thomas Parker (born 1595, educated at Oxford, arrived in New England in 1634), for the sake of an anecdote told in Dr. Popkin's most laconic style: 'He was a man of a very charitable and liberal mind, and at the same time fervently pious, and engaged in the duties of a minister. He taught a school in this Newbury, of about twelve or fourteen scholars, and took no pay but such presents as were freely sent him. When he was blind, he could teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There is a report, of which I have no written vouchers, that some ministers, being dissatisfied with his opinions, came to reason with him on those subjects. They addressed him in English, he replied in Latin; they followed him in Latin, he retired to Greek, and to Hebrew; they pursued, but in Arabic he stopped them. He then refused to be examined by them.'

"The 'Sermon preached September 17, 1806, at the Dedication of the New Meeting-House of the First Parish in Newbury,' is one of Dr. Popkin's best and most animated discourses. Here, too, I think we may see how evangelical were his views, yet how far they fell short of modern Orthodoxy; * how truly he preached the Gospel,

* Dr. Withington, in his funeral sermon quoted later, says, in entire accordance with what is stated here by Judge White: "If you ask me, however, if he was a believer in New England Orthodoxy, in its current interpretation, I must say I suppose he was not. He was too cautious a man to embrace any thing very bold or decisive; he was full as remarkable for saying nothing that was false, as all that was true. He did not so much deny as doubt."

constantly enforcing his sentiments and reasoning by apposite passages from Scripture. His most orthodox views were expressed by such passages. He had little respect for human orthodoxy.

“ ‘A Sermon on the Seasons, Time, and Eternity, preached December 12, 1813, in Newbury, First Parish,’ is another of his most evangelical, yet most practical discourses. It is a good sample of his most solemn and impressive style of preaching; never so solemn as to fail of being sound and rational, as well as Scriptural and altogether Christian. This sermon was thought to have more than his usual solemnity of tone. It made a deep impression on the hearers, and was therefore solicited for publication. A note appended to the discourse is worthy of some attention, as showing his prevailing solicitude that his people should examine and judge for themselves, not only what he preached and wrote, but even his quotations from the Bible. After speaking of the importance of reading such quotations in connection with the context, in order to a right understanding of them, he says: ‘A serious and sincere writer would wish the reader to examine and think for himself; if he have erred, to correct or avoid the error; if he have uttered truth, to perceive and feel it, and follow its direction, to search the Scriptures,’ &c. ‘To search the Scriptures of divine truth,’ he adds, ‘may be an exercise tending, not only to correct the errors, but to remedy the failures and supply the deficiencies, of human compositions.’

“ Dr. Popkin published two Thanksgiving Discourses, both remarkable for the discussion of great principles, rather than occasional and transient topics; both, therefore, possess a permanent interest and value.

“ In the ‘Sermon preached in Newbury, First Parish, on the Day of Annual Thanksgiving, November 25, 1813,’ are presented, in a striking view, the blessings of Christianity to society; to man in his civil, political, social, and temporal interests and relations. ‘Take away all knowledge and influence of religion, and what will remain of virtue? Take away all virtue, and what will remain but a chaos of confusion and misery? No freedom could be enjoyed where no security, order, or right

could be maintained. Indeed, despotism would be the result, and would be a refuge; but a miserable refuge; an incessant struggle and war between competitors for empire, or an iron yoke of bondage which would hold the people in subjection to stern and oppressive power.'

" 'If, therefore,' he again says, 'we wish to contribute the most surely and abundantly to secure and perpetuate the noble character and privileges of freemen, we must diligently cultivate the virtues, and the principles, and the influence of the Christian religion.'

" At the very close, the war which was then raging is thus alluded to: 'As to our public affairs, which are mostly affairs of war, they are the subjects of continual discourse and publication. I shall only say, that I cannot rejoice in the calamities of my country, even if they are deserved; nor in her successes, unless I am satisfied that the cause is good.'

" The 'Discourse delivered on the Day of National Thanksgiving for Peace, April 13, 1815,' is one of Dr. Popkin's most spirited and eloquent discourses, presenting in their true light the evils and the authors of war, as well as the blessings of peace. It contains sound views on all kindred topics of public interest, and is full of instruction to people and rulers, suited to all times and places.

" A short 'Sermon on an Afflictive Occasion' was published in 1814, by particular desire of several bereaved families who had felt and appreciated its consoling power.

" 'Two Discourses, delivered on the Lord's Day preceding a Removal to Harvard University, in Cambridge, October 8, 1815,' remain to be mentioned, making ten in all. I recollect no more. The unanimous vote of the parish is prefixed to these, soliciting copies for the press, and expressing in the strongest terms their appreciation of Dr. Popkin's ministry among them, with their sincere respect, affection, and gratitude, and their fervent prayers for his future usefulness and happiness.

" Dr. Popkin, in a preliminary note, observes: 'The first of these discourses was not prepared for the occasion, but composed some time previous. In the second, some passages, personal and relative, are not published; and perhaps others of the kind might better have been omitted.

But in a farewell address, in mutual good-will, it might seem improper to say nothing occasional.' Had the whole been published as it was delivered, the discourse would have been still more interesting and characteristic.

"The first of these discourses is an admirable exposition of the great truths and blessings of Christianity, from 2 Cor. ix. 15: 'Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.' I will make but a single extract: 'When we consider the life of Jesus, when we contemplate his words and actions, we think that man could not have imagined such a character. From any thing that was known of human nature, or understood of human virtue or duty, so singular and perfect a character could not have been delineated or conceived. It could be drawn only from the life. It is above all parallel and comparison. It is perfectly consistent, "without blemish and without spot," divinely good, sublimely great and that without effort, yet "meek and lowly in heart." These remarks would admit, and require, a large expansion, a copious illustration. But the inference that I draw from them is direct and concise; and that is, the Truth of the Character and the Doctrine. The life of Jesus commands the belief and the admiration of the right and sensible mind; and ought, as far as possible, to command our imitation. This is another singular excellence of the Gospel, that it exhibits a perfect and animating example of the virtues which it inculcates.'

"The second, or Farewell Discourse, I have already noticed, and extracted several brief passages. Appended to it is an account of the proceedings of a mutual council called by Dr. Popkin and the parish, which are alike honorable to both parties. The whole of this discourse is excellent, and particularly valuable for the beautiful illustration it affords of Dr. Popkin's mind, and heart, and ministerial character.

"In this very compressed notice of the published discourses, it has been my aim to select such passages as might be characteristic of the author and his manner of writing, while they expressed some of his best thoughts and sentiments. If, therefore, you should have nothing better or more appropriate, this imperfect sketch may be acceptable as an accompaniment to your memoir of him.

'His discourses,' as you have observed with equal truth and brevity, 'are models of excellence, both in matter and manner.' They were the genuine product of his own mind, and so far original, and all the more valuable for the various knowledge, human and divine, with which his mind was so richly imbued. His style, too, was his own, though savoring not a little of the purest old English diction.

"Dr. Popkin's life and ministry at Newbury were too peaceful, quiet, and happy, to furnish any more striking incidents for biographical notice than the various publications which I have thus cursorily reviewed. But his attention could not be confined to the limited sphere of his professional duties. His heart expanded to the interests of humanity everywhere, and he was always alive to the welfare of the community around him, and ready to assist in any good work for promoting it. As I remember him at this period, he was not, to any remarkable degree, oppressed by diffidence in the pulpit, or in performing any duty before the public. Nor did he apparently suffer much restraint in his social intercourse from that shyness and reserve for which he was so noted in later life. He certainly appeared to have a true relish for the pleasures of society, especially among his friends, and was far from being averse to the society of ladies.

"Two instances of public service, in which I was associated with Dr. Popkin, now occur to me, and may here be mentioned. He was for more than fifteen years a very faithful member of the Board of Trustees of Dummer Academy. And he was appointed by the Legislature a member of the committee, of which the late Justice Story was chairman, for distributing the State's bounty of ten thousand dollars among the poorer sufferers by the great fire at Newburyport, in 1811. He took a lively interest in this benevolent service, and was punctual and constant in his attendance upon it at the various meetings of the committee.

"To you I would not speak of my own estimate of Dr. Popkin's learning; but I may be allowed to say, that our late friend, John Pickering, no incompetent judge, held it in the highest estimation, and often alluded to him as one of the most profound scholars of the country."

To the preceding ample and admirable review of eleven years of Dr. Popkin's clerical life I will add a few more illustrations, furnished me by his successor in Newbury, the Rev. Dr. Leonard Withington. The following is an extract from a letter which Dr. Withington kindly wrote, in answer to some inquiries I took the liberty to address to him : —

“His preaching here is still remembered by a few. He left the impression on the minds of the people, that he wished to say more than he did say ; not, indeed, from timidity, but excessive caution. He preached a series of sermons on Predestination, and gave the arguments and the Scriptural proofs both ways, and left the people to judge. The consequence was, they hardly knew which way to decide ; they said it was a great and dark subject, and that perhaps was the very impression he intended to make. Some of his replies are still remembered. Dr. Spring called on him one day, and found his room in some confusion, and said to him, ‘Why, brother Popkin, don't you get a wife to put these things in order ?’ ‘The reason is, Doctor, I am too much your disciple ; I have too much impartial benevolence to narrow down my affections to one.’ With all his modesty, he could be decided when the occasion called for it. . . . One of the boatmen, who brought wood down the river, happened to be a preacher in some separatist school ; after selling him wood, he asked him how long it took him to prepare his sermons. ‘Sometimes a week, sometimes a fortnight, and sometimes three months.’ ‘Three months !’ said the astonished Cicero ; ‘why, I can prepare a sermon at any time in ten minutes.’ ‘Very likely,’ said Dr. Popkin ; ‘but remember, I preach to people of sense.’ He was always talking of his own unfitness, which never injured him here, though I believe it did in Boston. He would visit the sick, and sometimes be unable to speak a word, and only sit by the bed and weep.”

I also extract a characteristic passage or two from a manuscript sermon preached by Dr. Withington after Dr. Popkin's death.

"One of his most remarkable qualities was his humility. He always seemed to have a great distrust of himself. He always shuddered and shrunk from the responsibility of saying a rash thing, or any thing that approached to the nature of a paradox. This appears in his style, which is very peculiar, and always reflects on the reader's mind a kind of quivering, trembling, angular light. He wished to be faithful, but he never wished to wound his hearers' feelings; and that caution which always guided his speculations always appeared in the mould of his periods and the choice of his words. He passed over the doctrine of religion as an elephant does over a bridge, pausing, weighing, looking, measuring his steps. Nothing was strongly said, but every thing was cool and cautious. He felt that we all "see through a glass darkly," and the hesitation and suspense which is wise on some dark points of our faith he might extend to some great truths, of which to most pious minds the proofs are clear. Every mind has its peculiarities, and certainly it was not his to suffer his words to go beyond his convictions. He remembered the advice of a great preacher: 'Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few.' "

"Though a man of the greatest frankness and simplicity, he was capable of being very adroit in dealing with mankind. It is observed by Fielding, that, when a man of sincerity does attempt something like finesse, he does it most admirably. It was so with Dr. Popkin; his finesse was the more beautiful, because it was without falsehood. An incident will explain. A man came to him, wholly unknown, and wanted a certificate of qualification to teach a school. He was very importunate. Our Doctor tried to beat him off, but in vain. After much hesitation, he wrote the following; and certainly Talleyrand himself could not have exceeded it:—

" ' CERTIFICATE.

" ' This may certify, that A. B. (inserting the name) wishes me to say that he is well qualified to teach the school for which he has applied.

' JOHN S. POPKIN.' "

Dr. Popkin always took an interest in the political questions of the times. This is very discernible in several of his sermons. I am not aware, however, that he ever participated actively in political discussions through the press, except on one occasion.

The war between the United States and Great Britain arrayed the Federalist and Republican parties in fierce hostility against each other. The dissensions in New England rose to an alarming height ; and though there is no ground for the charge of treasonable purposes against the Union, so often and vehemently urged by the Republicans against the Federalists, yet a candid inquirer, in reviewing the proceedings and reading the political documents of that day, must admit that intemperate language and exasperation of feeling marked the conduct of both parties, and to that extent each had some apparent pretext of attack upon the other. The history of that war gave a striking illustration of the forecast and wisdom of Washington. "Excessive partiality," says the Father of his Country, "for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests."

The state of things here shadowed out had taken place in this country in Washington's time, and again during the last war with England. The Republican party were hostile to England, remembering the old quarrel of the Revolution, and partial to France for her timely aid in the great struggle. They looked upon the aggressions of France with a lenient eye, and exaggerated the wrongs inflicted on us by England. On the other hand, the Fed-

eralists claimed to be the party of order and law, and dreaded the prevalence of French partialities; they distrusted French principles; and opposition to the policy of the government — universally admitted to have been a policy unwise and ineffectual — drove them to an extreme, in palliating the conduct of England while they justly condemned the course of France.

The declaration of war at the moment when it was made was doubtless premature. Had the government delayed it a few weeks longer, it would have been unnecessary, and all the treasure squandered and the lives lost might have been saved. It found the country not only divided, but unprepared; it was waged with little prudence on the part of the government, and less administrative skill; distress, deep and universal, pervaded the land; and when peace was made, the most extravagant joy burst forth from every quarter, even before the conditions were known, and in the midst of the universal delirium no inquiry was made whether all or any of its alleged objects had been gained. In point of historical fact, a single letter from Mr. Webster to Lord Ashburton has done more towards adjusting the most difficult and irritating point in the controversies between us and England than all the fighting and bloodshed of three years accomplished. *Cedant arma togæ.* No other benefit resulted from the conflict than the indirect influence of our land and naval victories in giving us a higher military character throughout the world. Some of our generals showed skill and conduct; our soldiers fought bravely, and our sailors breasted the shock of the fleets of England. Those who value this kind of reputation will think it worth the bloody price we paid, and compensation enough for the public disasters and private sufferings we endured in gaining it. Those who agree with Franklin, that there never

was a good war, nor a bad peace, will take a less favorable view of the war of 1812.

It is well known that the late Samuel Dexter, one of the first men for abilities and fame then in the Federalist party, dissented from the course pursued by his friends. In 1814 he was taken up by the Republicans as their candidate for Governor, in opposition to Caleb Strong. He was in Washington when the nomination was made. He wrote a letter, dated February 14, 1814, to the electors of Massachusetts, in which he explained his views very clearly and ably, coinciding wholly with neither of the parties into which the country was divided. He disapproved of the system of restrictions on our commerce, adopted by our rulers, and stated his objections against it in the most pointed and forcible manner. He differed with the government, also, as to the time and manner of conducting the war; but he thought "the British Orders in Council were a flagrant violation of our rights and our national honor, and consequently were a just cause of declaring war." He found himself "unable to reconcile some of the leading measures of the Federalists with the fundamental principles of civil society, and the indispensable duty of every citizen in all countries, but especially in the American republic, to hold sacred the union of his country. . . . It is a fundamental law of every civil society, that, when a question is settled by the constituted authority, every individual is bound to respect the decision. The momentous question, whether war was just and necessary, has been thus settled. Peace can only be restored by a treaty to which Great Britain shall assent, and reasonable terms are not to be obtained from her by proving to the world that we are unable or unwilling to maintain our rights by the sword. The privilege of every citizen to examine the conduct of rulers is unquestionable, though

in speaking to his country he may be overheard by her enemies." After pointing out the consequences of abusing this privilege, and the disasters that would ensue upon the severance of the Union, he proceeds: "On such occasions, regret for the refractory principle of our nature, which scatters through nations the misery, crimes, and desolation of war, will rend the bosom of the benevolent man; but if he be also magnanimous and just, this will not tempt him to violate his duty or repine at the arrangements of Heaven. The history of civil society proves that it is a terrible necessity, and man must submit to his destiny. Still greater evils are produced by pusillanimous shrinking from conformity to the mysterious law of his present condition." After some further comments, especially upon the errors of the government in declaring war, and at the same time drying up the only productive source of revenue; in asking for a loan of twenty-five millions, while ruining the commercial parts of the country; in laying odious taxes, and yet not raising a sufficient revenue to relieve the public necessity; and in prosecuting a useless and hopeless invasion without men or money or credit, and with a disgusted people; he closes thus: "The resources and energy of a powerful nation ought not to be wasted in the wilderness, but thrown on the element where our wrongs were inflicted, and our brave countrymen have already repeatedly triumphed. They are adequate to teaching our enemies to imitate the justice of Jupiter, while they affect to scatter his thunderbolts."

The opinions of Mr. Dexter, and this appeal to the people of Massachusetts, created an immense sensation in both parties. Among Dr. Popkin's papers are several manuscript articles, copies of which had apparently been published in some of the political journals. I have alluded to this subject, and I select a few passages, to show that,

retired and scholastic as were his habits, he was by no means an indifferent spectator of the contest. He was a thorough Federalist, and did not hesitate to declare his opinions in the way he thought proper on questions which affected the welfare and honor of the country. He was well informed on political subjects, and wrote with great earnestness and vigor. The address of Mr. Dexter was reviewed by him, from the Federalist ground, in an article entitled, "What were the Causes of the War, or what were not the Causes?" He discusses with ability the conduct of France and that of Great Britain, showing that the former had been the more aggressive; he then takes up the Orders in Council, the Embargo, the impressment of seamen, &c., and argues that the pretexts alleged were not the real motives of the war.

"Gouverneur Morris, in his oration, informs us that it is confessed that great statesmen keep their deep counsels to themselves, but must throw out some specious pretences to the people to satisfy or to manage them; and this precious confession is made for the purpose of justification. It is made to justify or defend the understanding, and implies an admission, that the pretences are indefensible and absurd, though they may answer their purposes, and that the authors are ashamed of them. But how does it justify their character, their conduct, their integrity? It sacrifices these to the pride of understanding; and perhaps it may be thought an easy sacrifice. We are not inclined to dispute the concession. We have other evidence of it, and of these matters and manners, in present and former times. But we quote Mr. Morris as a respectable authority. We do not believe that a truly great and upright statesman, like General Washington, would allow himself to propagate vain pretences, if he might think it necessary to retain some truths; especially to offer such pretences to support measures of vast and wasteful consequences, which on their real ground would admit no colorable justification. Indeed, he would not be the author of such

measures. The pretences are gravely made to the people, and to the people they must be gravely answered; because, with an equal share of natural understanding with others, they may not have equal means of information. But it is a curious situation to be gravely arguing against propositions which one neither believes, nor supposes the authors and chief supporters to believe, to be any thing more than mere shadows, men of straw, set up and dressed out to count with the people. We presume to think and to say, that men of information have never supposed that the pretended were the real causes of the war. They do not believe that there were any good and sufficient causes for it. They believe that the difficulties might have been easily and reasonably settled and arranged, and were settled by Mr. Monroe. They think, that, if there be wrongs committed, there ought to be some proportion between the evils and the remedies; that it is out of all proportion and reason and right in respect to ourselves, for some abuses that rise out of a state of universal and most violent warfare, to plunge ourselves into all the destruction and miseries of such a war, waged in such a manner as the present. They think the war not necessary, not impartial, not just, relatively to other nations, and enormously wrong and ruinous to ourselves. The partisans of the war, and even the opponents, do not appear to take the wrong to ourselves into sufficient consideration. It seems to be supposed that the only question is, whether there be some color of right against Britain; and to be admitted, that for any small cause, or for no cause but our own will, we have a perfect and unquestionable right to ruin and destroy ourselves, with an unmeasured waste of life and property, to deprive multitudes of the citizens of all their living, and to impose immense taxes and debts on present and future times, to lie as a heavy and endless bond and mortgage on all the persons and estates in the country. If we think measures unjust, or if we think them only unwise, inexpedient, we have a right, and are under obligations, to oppose them by all constitutional means, while we submit to all constitutional laws. If we disapprove of measures, and of their authors and abettors, *we the people*, the electors, or those of us who

disapprove, must endeavor to change, to displace, or to reject them, not only by a silent vote, but by the freedom of speech and the press, showing cause to others, if we please, why we think they should disapprove and reject them. Our liberty of election goes further, and rests on our individual sovereign will and pleasure, for which we are bound to give account to no man, but to God only, and to him we are most seriously accountable. But we are speaking now of solemn duties, as well as of essential rights. These rights are guaranteed to us by our Constitution, and by the essential principles of liberty. If we resign or lose these rights, the liberty of speech and of the press, we are slaves."

In another article he says : —

"Every man ought to feel himself solemnly engaged to do his duty on these occasions, on which the public interests and the government depend. Were I sure that every vote given in the State would be given for Governor Strong, I would have the honor of giving mine. But only one thing is certain, that we cannot be sure till the election is over. I would walk *ten miles*, if necessary, or farther, travelling through mud and mire, in all the conscious dignity of a freeman and an elector, bearing in my breast an essential and no insignificant portion of the public interest and public sovereignty. I should prefer this honor to travelling *three hundred miles* through mud and through mire, 'thorough brush and thorough brier,' 'thorough flood and thorough fire,' to Canada.

"Mr. Dexter thinks that there was just cause for declaring war. The government have declared it is just and necessary, and it is their office to decide. The necessity being thus settled in his mind, he argues from it that we ought to submit to it, and concur in it, and bear out the consequences with magnanimity. On the contrary, we, being under the constant impression that the war was neither necessary nor just, very naturally construed a demand of submission and coöperation as a demand made in favor of an unjust and unnecessary war, and of course any war of this nature, and any measures, which we think unjust or injurious. We admit that we must obey laws

and requisitions that are not inconsistent with constitutional principles, nor with moral laws. But we maintain the right of opposing, in constitutional modes, and endeavoring to alter, measures which we think wrong or inexpedient, by our votes and our voices, by elections, by declaring our opinions and sentiments, individually or in public bodies, to the people or to the government.

"We still think the complexion of his discourse, and his notions of submission, irreconcilable with the principles and the preservation of regular freedom, and more fitted for a despotic government than for republican constitutions. We still think his notion of necessity, whether resulting from the acts of government or the condition of human society, would operate, if allowed, to deprive us of the right of endeavoring to obtain a change of measures which we account injurious. His argument seems to be, War is declared, and you have nothing to do but to help to carry it on. We say, War is declared, and we are sorry for it; and we would have a peace speedily, if we could effect it regularly, and on reasonable terms. If we could vote down all the authors of the war to-morrow, we would do it, and place men in their stead who, we think, would make a just peace as soon as possible. He may say, for our comfort and encouragement, This is the state of man and civil society, to be often at war; it becomes men to bear it manfully. We say, It is the state of man, an unhappy state; and we wish to avoid it as much as possible, and recover ourselves from it as soon as possible."

The following sketch of the two parties is characteristic of the spirit of the times.

"With all due deference to the knowing ones, it does appear to me that one of the most artful contrivances of the Jefferson party, and one of the most dangerous alarms to the Washington interests, is the nomination of Mr. Dexter to the office of Governor. The names of Washington and Jefferson are taken as the most just distinctions. To pass over the times of Shays's insurrection, the first remarkable division was that of Federalists and Anti-

federalists; the Federalists were supporters of the new Constitution of the United States, the Antifederalists were opposers of the same. With the opening of the French Revolution, the Antifederalists eagerly seized and boasted the name of Jacobins, and bore it without having their title disputed. This name becoming too unpopular, they assumed that of Republicans, to which name they are least of all entitled; for they are the supporters of arbitrary power, whether it be in France or in America. The Federalists, the friends of the Constitution and of Washington, are the true republicans. Holding the principles, let them hold the name of Washington, Washingtonians. The other side boast of Jefferson, and follow him as the first head and leader of the party. Let them bear his name, Jeffersonians.

"These denominations will be, as they have been, the most just and steady distinctions through all the changes of times and circumstances. With the Washington side are now associated the interests of peace, commerce, and the commercial States, and general prosperity, and essential rights and liberty. With the Jefferson side are associated, identified, war and violence, and taxation, and the destruction of commerce and of the commercial States, and of essential rights and liberty, violence in our land, wasting and destruction on our borders. An act of military violence has been committed in the town of Newbury, which ought to be known throughout the continent, and corrected, if necessary, by the *posse* of the county and the power and authority of the Commonwealth. A child of about fourteen years old had been enlisted, and his father took him away, and took him home. The house was assaulted in the night by force and arms by soldiers; and the father, the child, and a son-in-law carried off to the rendezvous; and it is affirmed that the child was severely whipped, and sent off to the Castle in Boston harbor. If this be not true, let it be denied. Will it be said this was not the act of government, but of inferior servants? Be it so. It shows our danger. Are we to be thus dragooned? Are we prepared to bear it? Are we prepared for martial law, and military execution? If we are, we have most shamefully degenerated within forty years. But there is a lawful redress."

In the year 1815, the College Professorship of Greek in Harvard University was offered to Dr. Popkin. He resigned his pulpit, and, by the advice of a mutual council, his resignation was accepted by his people, though with regret. This professorship, the unostentatious duties of which were entirely consonant to the modesty of his tastes, he held until 1826. In the mean time a Professorship of Greek Literature had been founded and endowed by the liberality of the late Mr. Eliot ; and Mr. Edward Everett, having completed his career of study in Europe, was made the first Professor on the new foundation. After five years of brilliant service, Mr. Everett was elected to represent the Middlesex District in the Congress of the United States, and the College Professor was transferred to the vacant chair. Dr. Popkin continued to hold the Professorship of Greek Literature for seven years, and resigned it in 1833.

During the period of his service as College Professor, the College was subjected to several periodical scrutinies on the part of the public and by the superior boards. Harvard College has been treated, in this respect, in a manner unknown to any other literary institution in the country. The theological discussions growing out of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity have been one cause of occasional outbreaks of hostility ; and the partial connection of the College with the State government, exposing it to the influences of the changes in parties, and to the suspicions, prejudices, and dislikes of contending factions, has been another. This is not the place to discuss the utility or uselessness of this tie, continued after the State has withheld all material aid, in either sense of the phrase ; but one effect of this relation — that of drawing the affairs of the College into public discussions by, and before, those who know nothing about the College or its affairs — has often been apparent. All institutions for the education

of the young are marked by numerous imperfections ; and it is easier to find fault than to devise a practical remedy. The fault-finding has been the chief benefit bestowed on the College by its political supervisors, while the officers who bear the brunt have been left without help. The most extravagant ideas are thrown into circulation, from time to time, threatening to involve the institution, professors, and students in one common ruin ; and then, sweeping measures of change and imaginary reform are vehemently urged. Little or no benefit results to the College from these unsteady, and generally unenlightened, movements.

But a crisis arrived about the year 1821, which created considerable alarm. The condition of the College was not in a satisfactory state to its best friends. There seemed to be a moral decline, and the discipline had become relaxed to a certain extent, though by no means so fearfully as was asserted or imagined in various quarters. A long and severe investigation took place. Series of questions were addressed to the Professors, and a body of reports was prepared in reply, of remarkable ability. The most elaborate was that of Dr. Popkin. In it he considered, at great length, the state of the College, as to discipline, instruction, and morals ; he pointed out the actual evils, and suggested remedies ; he showed how exaggerated many of the public statements had been, and explained the progress made and making, especially in the classical department. The whole document was written with such temperance and moderation, that it probably had a strong influence in quieting the fears of the friends of the College. Besides the answers to specific questions, the paper contains many wise and profound general reflections, tersely and pointedly expressed ; but they are so interwoven with topics of temporary interest, that it is not easy to present an extract which would be interesting out of its connection.

Similar inquiries were addressed to the Professors in the following years. One question, long discussed, related to the expediency of making the College studies partly or wholly elective. Dr. Popkin's report on this subject bears date June 8, 1826. He had great fears of the consequences of adopting such a measure. It has been found by experience that the danger is not that students will choose their studies in such a manner as to do the smallest amount of work, but precisely the opposite, with some individual exceptions, that they will overtask themselves by attempting too many and too difficult studies. But the view taken by Dr. Popkin and others was not unnatural before an actual trial had demonstrated its fallacy. The general reasoning of this paper, however, is so able, and so well suited to the questions of education in all time, that, in justice to the subject and to Dr. Popkin, I must present an extract of some length.

"The reasons for the preparatory studies are not so obvious and well understood. But there is a system and circle of studies which judicious men of learning and enlightened statesmen have deemed requisite and essential to a public and liberal education. The ancient languages, particularly Latin and Greek, have been regarded as an indispensable introduction; and, indeed, as continual attendants and objects of learning. Mathematics and natural philosophy and astronomy are of acknowledged practical utility; and they contribute greatly to form and to correct the mind, and to supply it with the means of useful operations and enlarged and elevated contemplations. Intellectual philosophy, the science of the mind itself, we should think ought to be esteemed as highly important and interesting. Though it may be difficult and subtle, yet the knowledge of ourselves, our powers, our faculties, our affections, recommends itself by the very description. If it be difficult, it is the better exercise of the mind, and a preparation for exertions that may be necessary in the intercourse and contentions of mankind. If the mind dwell

only in the delights and delicacies of literature or imagination, it may become too enervated and fastidious for vigorous and wearisome exertion. Of moral and political philosophy or knowledge the great utility and importance are undisputed. They enter directly and essentially into the business and duties of life and society.

“It seems evident, at first sight, that a person who is publicly and liberally educated, for the highest intellectual purposes of the community, ought to be introduced into all these departments of knowledge, that he may be made acquainted with the elements and principles of them, and may be prepared to use them, or to proceed further in them, as he may find occasion and opportunity. The well-known observation of Cicero on the connection of the arts or sciences is, I believe, proved by long successive time and experience. Natural and intellectual philosophy are connected; intellectual and moral; moral and political; and language with all of them. The philosophy of language is particularly and intimately connected with the philosophy of the mind. The operations of the mind scarcely have a form or a name but by the instrumentality, or rather the investment, of language; and certainly without it they have little or no expression or communication. A knowledge of several languages greatly enlarges these intellectual stores and materials, and facilitates the use of them. We see in them the different modes of thought in different places, and thence may enrich our own literature. The knowledge of the ancient languages, which are commonly studied, is peculiarly conducive to this intellectual and literary instruction. They are rich in thought and expression, in moral sentiment, in historical and political information; and in eloquence and in poetry they are still the great masters. They cannot be translated. Matter of fact, or of reason, may be translated or transmitted; but a work of genius, or the genius of a work, cannot be translated. It is, as before observed, intimately combined with the language; it is meditated and produced in that language. Change it, and something of the substance may remain; but the texture and the color and the beauty are gone. Something of art or of genius may be substituted, but the original genius cannot be replaced.

“Further, the study of the ancients opens a way or a view, through the world, from the beginning to the present time, and exhibits mankind in various periods, positions, and characters, and some of them very interesting and instructive. If they be neglected, our views will be very much narrowed, and the horizon will be closed down with clouds and darkness at no great distance. And they will in a great part be neglected, if they are not required in a system of public education.

“Many more reasons might be offered for the study of the ancients, and of all the sciences that have been stated, and for their connection and combination. But to do any thing like justice to the subject and the occasion would be a greater work than could now be duly performed, and more than could with propriety be presented in this time of public business.

“We would only observe, on this topic, that the present tendency appears to be strong to natural and material objects and science, which are unquestionably estimable for the use and convenience of life, and for the exercise of the mental powers. But it is the knowledge of man, of society, of history, of life and manners, and moral and political principles and sentiments, and the imbuing of the mind with correct, and just, and good, and honorable, and patriotic, and Christian principles and sentiments, which form the proper character of man, — the moral, social, civil, and religious man and community. On this topic, as well as others, the Rev. Dr. Channing’s Remarks on Milton are of high excellence and authority, and deserve great consideration. To this purpose all the studies recommended are in different ways and degrees conducive, but particularly that which is distinctively called Literature, ancient and modern literature, together with moral and religious works, and, above all, the Holy Scriptures.

“Here it must be observed, that modern literature, especially our own or English literature, is confessedly of primary value; but it has not been urged at present, because it has not been questioned. It is sought and pursued with an avidity, tending to the exclusion or depression of other, and ancient and various, knowledge. Perhaps it must necessarily, from the nature of things, remain the

object of private study, and could not well be made the subject of public exercises, but it may admit of an intelligent direction.

“ Now, some may inquire, What is the need or use of this various knowledge ? May not a person study one language, or art, or science, according to his desire or want, without the necessity of going round the whole circle ? Or, is it possible to study the whole with any advantage ?

“ We may answer, that we are not treating of particular cases, nor of the people at large. We are considering that which is properly called a liberal and public education, and that comparatively small number who are separated and set apart mostly to be prepared for those offices and duties which require various and extensive knowledge, and the cultivation of the higher faculties of the soul. It would be superfluous, on this occasion, to show that this cultivation and knowledge are highly conducive, and indeed essential, to the public welfare. But we may observe that the experience, observation, and judgment of the well-informed and judicious have regarded the established departments of education as the foundations of this cultivation and knowledge, and of general information, and public welfare. The want of one of them would be perceived and felt ; and men who, by their own efforts, have attained the highest eminence in some branches, have by their own efforts of choice afterwards made themselves acquainted with others. Doubtless they would have found it convenient and agreeable to have had an earlier opportunity for these subsequent studies. All scholars cannot be expected to acquire all knowledge, but they may be introduced into the principal departments. They may bend their attention in life chiefly to one pursuit, but by a various preparation they have more enlarged views and feelings, more means, more materials ; more resources, more powers, more comprehension, more illustration, and can turn themselves to more various objects. The freshness of their early studies may have faded, but their fruits and effects remain, and have influence, and they may be revived. It may be alleged, that some of them are not acquired in a degree sufficient to be of any utility, or are not very useful when acquired, and that other studies

might be more usefully pursued. These accounts one is sometimes tempted to regard as the testimony of conscience more than of experience. But these objects are acquired by many in a degree that is considerable, if not in perfection; and if the words and forms escape, the principles and effects remain. If the studies are imperfect, it is the duty of literary institutions to endeavor to improve, rather than to relax or remit them; and to uphold rather than to abandon them. There appears to be an obligation on them to labor to sustain the great principles of education, and to send forth young men trained in them as far and as well as may be practicable, in the variety of circumstances, intellects, and dispositions. If the course be left to the choice of the youth, it is quite probable that the greater part will be abandoned by them; and that they will go forth into the world, under the name of a university, with little that is proper to a universal or general education. Thus the scale and measure of learning will be greatly lowered and narrowed in the community, and probably some parts almost wholly neglected.

“It is replied, that public opinion will duly regulate these matters according to its wants and demands. We should think that the best-informed should endeavor to regulate or to influence public opinion; and we acknowledge that those who are engaged in the various relations of society have advantages for judging which are wanting to those who are limited to an academical seclusion. In free states the public opinion, with some fermentations, may be expected often to work itself or to settle itself clear. But it is not always correct at all times and in all places. In obvious public interests it may be formed more correctly than in those of the deeper erudition. In the more recondite nature and effects of learning, while the great body of the people receive the benefits, they may not perceive the causes and the operations; as the waters rise invisibly, which afterwards descend in showers, and streams, and rivers.

“It is true, that literary institutions ought to hold some way with the progress of knowledge and improvement; not to settle down at their ease, rusting in exploded error and antiquated prejudice. ‘But all innovation is not im-

provement.' Nor is every thing that is ancient for that cause obsolete, unless the Sacred Books be obsolete. On the other hand, there ought to be some stability in these institutions, that they may not be driven about by every wind of opinion, nor made the victims of every notion of empiricism, trying new practice every year and retracting it before the end of the same, unless, perhaps, some bold or rash experiment prove fatal, and it be too late for repentance.

"Another reason for the variety of collegiate preparation is found in the obvious remark, that a youth knows not what he may choose, or what he may follow, or to what he may be called, in his future life. We will suppose, that most of the students of a college are intended for the learned professions, or for literary or public characters. If a few others desire a liberal education they ought to have a liberal education, and not to obstruct or divert the course from its main and great purposes. Let us suppose a youth, intended for the study of law or medicine, and neglecting Greek, for instance, as tedious and superfluous and wasteful of his time. We say not, that for similar reasons or pretences he might neglect mathematics, metaphysics, natural philosophy, and even moral philosophy and theology, and every thing of learning or science, ancient and modern, but his mere profession. But let us confine the supposition to Greek, which is most in question; and suppose, further, that such a one may take a turn to study theology, or find it convenient to instruct youth in a school, academy, or college. He will then be destitute of a most important and essential preparation, and he will most probably continue destitute, or he must seek a partial supply, at a great expense of the time and labor which are pressingly wanted for further pursuits and engagements. The great danger is, that this primary preparation will in consequence, and in the common haste of advancement and of settlement, be generally neglected in the Church, the college, and the school. The clerical character will be deteriorated; it will want the foundation of knowledge and judgment; it will lose respect and moral influence; religion will suffer, morals will suffer, society will suffer; every thing will give signs of degeneracy from

the character and institutions of our venerable ancestors. I am, indeed, but of yesterday in this country ; but it is the country of my birth and my love, and of my father, and he is an old soldier of the Revolution. I speak of the venerable fathers of New England.

“ But it may be asked, Must all other scholars be sacrificed to the interest of the clergy and the Church ? Sacrificed to what ? we may ask in turn. Sacrificed to their own highest interests ; sacrificed to religion, to morality, to peace and good-will on earth, to the hope and the life of heaven, to the supreme perfection. Every one who has the opportunity ; we humbly think, ought to be able to read the Gospel in the original, with good intelligence, for his own sake, as an accountable being ; and these men commonly become men of influence, and activity, and interest, throughout the community, in the very serious and often difficult concerns of parishes, churches, and ministers ; and it is very desirable and advantageous that they should have the best attainable qualifications for conducting those affairs, or conducting themselves in them, with sound knowledge and discretion.

“ Besides, it would be no damage to a lawyer to be acquainted with the great models of Grecian and Roman eloquence ; nor any loss to a physician to understand the language of his profession, though Hippocrates and Galen may be obsolete or superseded. In fact, the Greek is at this day the technical language of all learning, arts, and sciences, and business, and pleasure. These languages are still the great original fountains of eloquence ; and they are peculiarly rich and happy in poetry, in taste, in sentiment, imagination, and expression. A liberal infusion of them into modern style is of great benefit and efficacy, to strengthen and embellish it, to correct and preserve it from vain conceit and wild extravagance. The Latin is not much disputed, and with reason. The Greek meets all the shock of war. Yet the Greek is the most philosophical of languages, the most finished and polished, the most acute, versatile, various, and universal ; and it contains the greatest authors. Grammar, philology, and rhetoric may be most advantageously explained and illustrated by the medium of this language. It contains at once the finest ex-

amples, and the best original treatises of rhetoric. There are, indeed, or there may be, translations ; but they are translations, or rather transmutations, of gold into inferior or baser metals. Above all things, the Greek language contains the original Gospel of salvation."

The system of college education prevalent in this country has grown up among us, and is well adapted to our condition and our wants. The professions have been honorably filled, the public affairs have been ably administered, literature has been cultivated in its various branches, and science has been advanced of late years in the United States scarcely less efficiently than in the Old World. Our system easily admits of changes to adapt it to the changing circumstances of the times ; and the colleges, whatever narrow-minded men may say to the contrary, have never shown themselves slow to adopt any real improvement.

But there are certain vague and impracticable notions abroad, which lead unreflecting people to fancy that the colleges fail to keep up with the progress of the age. Such persons forget that, whatever progress the age may make, the fundamental sciences and the eternal monuments of literary taste remain unchanged. *These* must always be the subjects of study, in any real system of education. There is no way of dispensing with algebra, geometry, and the calculus, let science make what progress it will ; there is no way of setting aside classical studies, however great may be the increase and the importance of modern literature. Now, if a man is to be liberally educated, the foundation of his discipline must be laid in these essential branches. He cannot reach the heights of science or letters without first toiling at the base. Precisely these essential things our colleges aim to teach ; and when these have been accomplished, a liberty of

choice, to some extent, is given for further studies. What is needed, however, is the addition to the present college course of two years of free study in literature and philology. This improvement is sure to come before long. Free studies in science are already well provided for at Cambridge by the Scientific School recently added to the University.

The enemies of classical study have supposed that, if it were made elective, it would soon disappear; and the friends of this pursuit have feared this result would follow. Both appear to have been in error. So long as liberal education, a cultivated taste, shall be held desirable among men, classical learning, in the very nature of things, cannot be dislodged from its present position. When Latin and Greek were made elective at the close of the Freshman year in Harvard College, the whole Sophomore class chose them. The introduction of the modern languages, so far from diminishing the love of classical studies, has, in my opinion, proved a signal benefit, by giving students a clearer conception, founded on comparison, of their true position in the world of letters. The opposition made in some quarters to this modification and extension of college studies has proved, I think, to have been grounded on a misapprehension of the real state of the case.

Dr. Popkin shared, to some extent, these apprehensions, but with no bigoted adherence to old ideas. The habitual caution of his mind naturally suggested doubts and difficulties, when serious changes were proposed; doubts and difficulties that deserved, as they always received, the most respectful consideration of the higher boards of the University. But when a change was determined on, he offered no factious opposition; on the contrary, he did his best to make it successful.

From 1833 to his death, which took place in the even-

ing of March 2, 1852, Dr. Popkin led a very retired life, occupying himself wholly with his books and his domestic affairs.

Dr. Popkin was by no means deficient in practical skill in the management of his business concerns. He had accumulated considerable property by his professional earnings, and understood well how to take care of it. He was one of the original subscribers to the stock of the Charles River Bank, as I am informed by Mr. Dana, the cashier, and continued to be a depositor there, to a large amount, until his death. He usually had (wonderful to relate of a Professor) about two thousand dollars on deposit. Once or twice in the course of twenty years the sum was reduced to one thousand; but he would immediately become uneasy, and call in funds from other quarters to raise it to the usual amount, for fear that something might happen, and the money should not be ready for the current expenses of his household. Mr. Dana says: "In all his business transactions with me, I noticed that he always had a very strict and peculiar regard or deference for the rules of propriety, order, and integrity. He often drew checks at the counter of the bank for the purpose of paying little bills, and he made it his uniform practice for the last two or three years of his life to draw the money for them, preferring, as he told me, to take this trouble on himself rather than subject the tradesmen to the risk of losing their checks. All the Doctor's transactions with me were marked, in his peculiar way, with an uncommon degree of scrupulosity, and I regard him as one of the most just and honest of men."

Mr. Charles Saunders relates: "About the year 1830, Mr. Whipple, one of the assessors of Cambridge, called upon me to give him a statement of my property for taxation. I asked him if it was the fashion here to disclose

the whole truth. He answered, that he feared not; but he knew one gentleman who, he was convinced, *did*, and named Professor Popkin. He had been waited upon on one occasion, and had given as he supposed the whole amount of his property; but soon after the assessors left him, a voice was heard calling from the door, with the information that he had forgotten one note of a thousand dollars."

Notwithstanding the Doctor's carefulness, he could boast of having "had his losses." He told Mr. Saunders on one occasion, that he had sufficient for his comfort at present, but knew not how long it would last, as every one who borrowed of him became bankrupt. "Why," said he, "if I should lend a thousand dollars to Billy Gray, it would be sure to break him." The wealth of the late William Gray was proverbial throughout the country. "As rich as Billy Gray" was the popular New England saying for the classical phrase, "As rich as Cræsus."

I add in this place a few more characteristic reminiscences, furnished me by Mr. Saunders.

"He was a classmate of the late Willard Peele of Salem, who entertained a strong friendship for him, although they had been ardent competitors for the first rank in the class. Dr. Popkin obtained it, but he told me that Peele deserved it. Mr. Peele once remarked to me, that Dr. Popkin had mistaken his vocation; that he should have entered the army, and would have made a distinguished officer. This remark I related to him; he observed, 'Peele is mistaken, for I was always a coward.' Here I think he was wrong.

"At the dinner in University Hall, given on the occasion of President Quincy's inauguration, Dr. Popkin presided at the elevated table in the north hall. Among other distinguished guests was Commodore Morris, who sat nearly opposite to him. When the wine began to circulate, a large body of undergraduates, who sat below, became noisy, and the Doctor endeavored in vain to keep order; he finally addressed the Commodore,

and said, 'What shall I do with these noisy boys?' 'Why, Doctor,' answered Morris, 'when it is play-day in the navy, we let them have it their own way.' 'Then I suppose,' said the Doctor, 'I must strike my flag,' and desisted from further efforts.

"About the year 1830, he was in the habit of eating his meals in his room in one of the College halls, brought from some distance. I remarked to him, that he must be indifferent about his food to live in such a way. 'On the contrary,' said he, 'I am as fond of good eating as any body; but I very seldom get it. What can an old bachelor like me do?' Mr. Whitney, the contractor for commons, observed to me, that, if the Doctor would take his meals in the dinner-hall, as he once did, he would cheerfully give him his board, on account of the respect borne him by the students in preserving good order at the tables.

"I mentioned to him that Tutor — had had his windows broken the preceding night, and I hoped his would not share the same fate. 'I have no fear of that,' said he; they sometimes call me Old Pop, but they never break my windows.'

"Within a year or two I inquired of him where he attended church. He answered, 'At the Episcopal.' I said my impression was that he went to —. 'No,' said he, 'I cannot go with either of the extreme parties, and have therefore taken a sort of middle ground, *in medio tutissimus ibis*.'

"A little greenhorn of a Freshman, reciting Greek to him, was corrected by the Doctor in regard to a particular word, but did not feel disposed to yield his opinion, and became somewhat pugnacious. 'Why,' said the Doctor, 'young man, you may be right; but I have spent more time on that word than you have in learning your whole lesson.'

"After he vacated his professorship, he built a house on the North Avenue, and amused himself by cultivating a garden. During a visit I made him, he showed some parts of the house, and accompanied me to the front door. Before taking leave, I said to him, 'You have a very good house.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'this is the house that Jack built.'

"During my visit, I inquired of him what he thought of

Wolf's opinion, that the *Iliad* was the work of different authors. He replied, 'I have for many years been a diligent student and a delighted reader of that poem, and I never could discover the places where the different parts were joined together; but, to speak seriously, no book has been written which bears stronger evidence of having been the work of one man, than Homer's *Iliad*.'

"Speaking of his father, who was an able officer in the war of the Revolution, he said, that, like most fathers, he had an extravagant opinion of his son's abilities, and before he graduated had engaged a place for him in the office of a distinguished lawyer, and was much disappointed at his refusing it, adding, 'If you will take that course, it is not improbable you may become President of the United States.'*

"I observed to him, that during his leisure I hoped he would prepare some work for the public. He replied, 'I have made some attempts that way, but I believe the public do not relish my writings.'

"The abilities of Dr. Popkin were of a high order; but he avoided all display. There was in him a simplicity, integrity, and benevolence rarely equalled. To me he was a very interesting preacher; his prayers were unpremeditated; he would often hesitate, and sometimes come to a stand, but was sure to end well. The little touch of eccentricity in his character rendered him more interesting."

So simple are the main events in the life of this unpretending, but distinguished scholar. The events are rather thoughts than external transactions, and for this reason I have quoted freely from his writings, hoping to present a tolerably complete view of his character and life. In his manners there was a singular shyness and self-distrust. From his return to College until towards the end of his life, he passed his days a solitary man, and he was never married. Yet there was a tradition long

* Mr. Popkin was a Revolutionary soldier, and fancied that candidates for the Presidency would be selected for merit and ability.

current in College, that, in the circle which Mr. Popkin occasionally frequented in his youth, there was an amiable and accomplished person to whose attractions he was not insensible. But whatever of a feeling warmer than friendship may have found a place in his breast, it probably remained a secret to all but himself, and was only a matter of inference with the spectators. Half a century afterwards, on the death of an estimable and venerable lady, Dr. Popkin, contrary to the long fixed habits of his life, attended her funeral, and followed her, in his carriage, to the grave. Perhaps some lingering memory of an early dream of romance, untold at the time, but unforgotten afterwards, may still have dwelt in that lonely heart.

Highly as Dr. Popkin was esteemed by both of the parishes with which he had been connected as a clergyman, his unconquerable diffidence was not only a source of great distress to himself, but hindered him from exercising that influence upon the general affairs of society to which his learning and abilities would justly have entitled him. It is probable that the suffering he endured in appearing before the public, from which he always shrank with nervous apprehension, was one of the strongest motives that impelled him to abandon the pulpit for the professor's chair.

The melancholic turn of Dr. Popkin's temperament seems to have shown itself very early, as we see in the extract from his commonplace book. During the period of his life passed in Newbury, he appears to have suffered from it less than before or afterwards; but the cloud no bigger than a man's hand afterwards grew, and darkened and overshadowed his life. He had the abilities of a great man, and the moral qualities of a good man; had they been blended in different proportions, and tempered differently, he would have appeared a great man to the world.

In person, Dr. Popkin was of a tall and manly figure.

His walk was upright, and his step was firm and vigorous. His brain was large and massive, and his head well-proportioned and grand. The character of his face strongly resembled the old prints of John Dryden. No one could approach him without feeling the power, as well as the singularity and antique simplicity, of his presence. His physical vigor remained unbroken until the last years of his life ; and his sturdy and venerable form was seen and familiarly known in his daily walks through the streets of Cambridge. But Time, the conqueror, after many ineffectual attacks, gradually undermined his strength, and as he approached the age of fourscore, his figure bowed under the load of years, and his former Achillean tread was now supported by a staff ; —

“ But he whose spring of life is spent,
His leaf already sere and shent,
Three-footed wanders, man no more,
A day-dream on a lonely shore.”

For the following account of Dr. Popkin's last illness, I am indebted to Dr. Morrill Wyman, his physician : —

“ Dr. Popkin enjoyed a good degree of health until the month of February, 1844, when, while at family worship in the evening, he suddenly became unable to articulate distinctly, and in a few minutes lost his consciousness. From this state he recovered much sooner than at first seemed probable, but with that peculiar intellectual condition in which the individual has distinct ideas, but is unable to express them correctly either orally or in writing. The fact, that this condition was a matter of curious speculation to him, well illustrates the philosophical tendency of his mind. He frequently remarked, ‘ How singular it is that I cannot express in words what is so clear in thought, and yet that I know that I have used the wrong word the moment I have uttered it.’ In the following May he was again attacked, and again lost his consciousness, but recovered sooner than before. By my advice he about this time made a decided change in his habits of life, giving up to-

bacco entirely, which he had before used only in small quantity,* and increasing the amount of his exercise both in walking and in the care of his garden, in which last he took much pleasure. In the course of the ensuing summer he had, in a great measure, recovered his usual health. He was able to express himself correctly, but his memory, especially for the names of persons, remained impaired. During the following four or five years he had occasional, but much slighter, recurrences of the attack of 1844. His sleep, also, was irregular, or, as he expressed it, he could not read but he would sleep, and he could not sleep but he would wake. He had inverted day and night, but otherwise he enjoyed a comfortable degree of health; and even at this time had not omitted the daily study of the Scriptures in Hebrew.

“In the spring of 1851 he began to complain of palpitation of the heart and difficulty of breathing, when ascending stairs or walking; and about the same time the cerebral attacks diminished in frequency, and in the summer ceased altogether. It was obvious he was suffering from organic disease of the heart. In December he had pain in the left breast and arm, at times very severe; yet he bore it with great fortitude, sometimes saying he should be glad of relief if it could be obtained, but if there was no relief to be had, he must try and bear all as patiently as possible. In January, 1852, the attacks of difficult breathing became more frequent and more severe, at times coming on suddenly, or in the night, and occasioning great distress. During the following month the usual effects of his disease began to exhibit themselves in effusions into the cavity of the chest and into other parts of the body, diminishing his

* The Doctor was as peculiar in regard to smoking as in his other habits. To avoid the possibility of excess, he used to walk to a shop at noon and evening, to buy a single cigar, and no more. When asked why he did not save himself this trouble by purchasing a whole box at once, he said, that, if he had them at hand, he should be smoking all the time. For many years one of his old friends used to visit and smoke a cigar with him on Sunday evenings; but he always carried two, because the Doctor never would buy any thing on the Lord's day.

ability to move about the house, and making his respiration more constantly laborious, while he still suffered from the sudden and violent palpitations of the heart with which the illness commenced. It was also noticed that his mind wavered, and was frequently clouded with fancies which were not easily dispelled. In the latter part of the month his mind was almost constantly wandering, and seemed to be busied at times with the studies of his youth, or with scenes described in the works of his favorite authors. Once, when sitting in his sick-chair, he rose slowly to his feet, and, disregarding the kind entreaties of his friends to spare his strength, drew himself up to his full height, and, looking earnestly and intently forward, said, with an air of deep solemnity, 'I am about to witness the performance of the sacred rites of the Theban mysteries.'* But the disease which had now invested the living citadel cut off one by one the communications with the outer world; his words became more and more incoherent, and during the night of the 2d of March he calmly passed away."

Dr. Popkin was an admirable classical scholar, after the old fashion. In his day, the modern schools of German philology had not taken the commanding position, either in England or the United States, which they now hold. Bentley and Porson held undisputed supremacy, and Porson's famous epigram on Godfrey Hermann was still quoted with damaging effect upon the reputation of the great German. Dr. Popkin's acquirements, judged by the standard of his time, were large and liberal; he studied "the authors," as he used to call the Greek writers, with singular care and delight. His knowledge of the Greek

* It is probable that reflections upon his approaching death mingled, in the mind of Dr. Popkin, with reminiscences of his early studies. He had been thinking, perhaps, of some remarkable expressions of Isocrates on the great Eleusinian Mystery, — that *those who were initiated in it had sweeter hopes of a future life*. The substitution of Theban for Eleusinian was only an instance of the phenomenon of confounding words involuntarily.

language was minute and critical ; though perhaps in the subsidiary and collateral branches of the study of antiquity, which have in recent years thrown so broad a light upon the languages and literature of Greece and Rome, his reading would now be considered somewhat deficient.

It has been seen how strong his early taste was for mathematical and historical pursuits. The latter he never abandoned. His knowledge of history was extensive and accurate. His manuscripts also show that he had early in life acquired a very critical acquaintance with the French language ; and at a later period he learned the Spanish. His Greek studies during the last years of his connection with the College embraced the ecclesiastical authors ; but it does not appear that he left any of the results of these studies among his writings. He had also given some attention to the modern Greek, as appears from an illustration in one of his Lectures. It is true that he was singular and solitary, and mainly occupied with subjects remote from the studies of nature and the business of the world ; but still, in his lonely musings, he was an earnest lover of nature, and not deficient in the power or the habit of careful and accurate observation. He left several papers containing notices of striking phenomena, and ingenious speculations upon their causes and character.

As a college teacher, he was faithful and thorough, though laconic in his direct personal instruction. His nervous dislike of the appearance of display not only restrained him from pouring out the copious flood of illustrations which the more showy tastes of the present age tend to run into, but led him to the opposite extreme of dryness. In all points of grammar he was rigid and punctilious ; and the drift of his teaching was rather to make exact verbal critics than enthusiastic lovers of scholarship. In this, his method shared the defect of the system of instruction then

prevailing. His own view upon this subject is briefly given in the following sentences from one of his reports : — “ I have always been ready to communicate what I can, and have attempted it very freely. But it does not appear to be so well received as it is intended. They are apt to take remarks as censures, and the best scholars seem to be ambitious of escaping a remark. To escape censure, or to acquit themselves of their duty, or to acquire honor and character, seem to be rather the objects of perhaps most of them, than to acquire the learning that is prescribed. I suppose that most of them would prefer what is called reading.”

The eccentricities of Dr. Popkin's manners were doubtless owing, in a great degree, to the diffidence of character which he never overcame. They were marked and striking, and in the course of time acquired for him an odd kind of celebrity.

There was a singularity in the Doctor's daily demeanor that always attracted attention, and frequently caused amusement. He had a peculiar way of speaking, bringing out his words with a nervous impulse, and ending with a whistling sound through the corner of his mouth. At recitation he generally sat before a small table, and at the close of a sentence, or to give emphasis to a remark, he would frequently pass his left hand rapidly up and down the shin of his right leg. These little peculiarities often raised a smile, and were common subjects of the jokes and imitation of the students. The familiar nickname, Old Pop, never expressed the slightest feeling of disrespect. The Doctor sometimes humorously limited the right to call him by this name to College men only. One day, as he was walking with a gentleman, some person rudely shouted from a window, “ There goes Old Pop.” “ What right has *he* to call me Old Pop,” exclaimed the Doctor, “ *he was never in College.*”

He was a mortal enemy to translations, "interliners," and all such subsidiary helps in learning lessons; he classed them all under the opprobrious name of "facilities," and never scrupled to seize them as contraband goods. When he withdrew from College, he had a large and valuable collection of this species of literature. In one of the notes to his Three Lectures he says: "I have on hand a goodly number of these confiscated wares, full of manuscript innotations, which I seized in the way of duty, and would now restore to the owners on demand, without their proving property or paying charges."

Amusing anecdotes, some true and many apocryphal, were handed down in College from class to class, and so far from being yet forgotten, they are rather on the increase. One of these mythical stories was, that on a certain occasion one of the classes applied to the Doctor for what used to be called, in College jargon, a *miss*, i. e. an omission of recitation. The Doctor replied, as the legend ran, "Ye ask, and ye receive not, because ye ask a-*miss*." Many years later, this was told to him. "It is not true," he exclaimed, energetically. "In the first place, I have not wit enough; in the next place, I have too much wit, for I mortally hate a pun. Besides, *I never allude irreverently to the Scriptures*." His simplicity, and the occasional oddity of his appearance and bearing, sometimes exposed him to the tricks of mischievous students, but never lost him their respect. His unaffected modesty, his ability, his solid learning, united with sturdy honesty, commanded the good-will and respectful deference of the most frivolous.

Dr. Popkin hardly ever journeyed far from home. His tastes were too quiet, and too averse from bustle and change, to make travelling agreeable to him. But in the summer of 1827 he made a journey through the western part of

New York, in company with one of his sisters who was returning home to Cincinnati. I find no other notice among his papers of this unusual event for him, except a letter to his sister, written after his return, from which I give an extract.

“ My journey was as comfortable as full stages and full houses could make it. But it is pleasant to see those countries and towns. The travel is very great ; the lands for the most part level, especially compared with Berkshire, or almost any part of Massachusetts ; but the roads are miry after rain, and the rain had been abundant. There are farms along the whole extent of the road, mostly occupied in the cultivation of wheat ; the buildings are yet mostly those of first settlers. But every few miles we come to a considerable village ; and pass through not a few considerable towns, having many well-built houses, — Batavia, Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, &c., — and by the northern extremity of several beautiful lakes, from one to five or six miles wide, and from fifteen to thirty or forty miles long. We passed through the Oneida Town, or Castle, as it is called, of Aborigines ; but saw no castle nor town, nor any thing but a few scattered huts and a few natives in the road, who looked inactive and drooping, and a number of children, who ran like young partridges after the stage for cents.

“ A few miles below Utica, we crossed the Mohawk and its meadows, and came down on the north side to Schenectady Bridge. We could see the river only at intervals ; and the shallow, hidden stream, by the side of which we sailed up on the canal, had become by the rains a full, strong, and respectable river. Indeed, all the streams, of which we could see little but the channels as we went, were now full of rapid water.

“ At Albany I tarried but about six hours in the night ; and at the stage-house and tavern they seemed to know that I must come on, and to treat me accordingly. There was a sort of a runner, with whom I had contracted a friendship when I went on, and I now met him everywhere, and took one of my notions, that he prepared people duly for my reception. Such was my self-importance.

"The journey from Albany to Northampton was more troublesome than the journey from Northampton to Albany. We had not the rude driver again. They were more decent. But we had a family of four small children, and those not the most quiet. I could not complain. The mother had the greatest trouble, and she was besides in affliction. We came later than before to the dining place, and there found no preparation. We had before found some pie in a private house, where the stage stopped. That is a wearisome piece of road, with its long and steep hills, and want of accommodations.

"From Northampton we had civil and good drivers, and good room and companions. I say we, meaning the stage company. On the last day I found some acquaintances and scholars."

I have received some account of this journey from one of the gentlemen in the company on the last day of it. The election between Adams and Jackson was pending at that time, and party spirit ran high through the country. The company in the stage-coach consisted of several gentlemen from Boston, two students returning to Cambridge after vacation, to take their degrees at Commencement the next day, Professor Popkin, and a comic actor named Keane. The actor amused the company by getting on the top of the coach, and trying the temper of the farmers at work in their fields, by shouting alternately "Huzza for Jackson!" and "Huzza for Adams!" as the coach drove by. The farmers echoed the shouts, or pelted the coach with stones, and pursued the passengers with abusive words, according to their political predilections. This was kept up during the whole day, so much to the entertainment of Professor Popkin, that he was completely hoarse at night with incessant laughter.

As the stage-coach approached Boston, the Professor requested the coachman to deviate from his route, and leave him with the two students at Cambridge, as it would save

them the necessity of going from Boston to Cambridge late at night. The coachman consented, if the other passengers made no objections. They readily agreed. When the coach arrived at the College, the Professor and the students having alighted, he turned to his remaining companions of the way, and said, "Gentlemen, we are very much obliged to you for your politeness; and as for you, Sir," addressing the player, and at the same time taking off his hat and swinging it in the air, I say, "Huzza for Jackson!"

During the greater part of Dr. Popkin's official connection with the University, he occupied a College room, and had his meals sent from some boarding-house, as has already been mentioned in Mr. Saunders's communication. In his early life he was not unsocial, but was always gladly welcomed in the small and unpretending society of the town. But after his return, and reestablishment as Professor in the College, he seems to have grown more reserved, and perhaps the changes which had taken place in the old families disheartened him from generally renewing his old habits, or frequenting his old haunts. Something, too, may be attributed to the growth of the moody temperament inherited from his father, a reserved and silent man, and from his mother, a woman of keen, nervous susceptibilities. At any rate, whatever may have been the cause or causes, during that period of his life when I knew him he could rarely be tempted to mingle in the society of Cambridge; but when he did venture within the dreaded circle, the blended singularity and dignity of his appearance, the vigor of his conversation, the rich quaintness of his wit, and the wise simplicity of his thought, drew immediately the interested attention of the company. In his room, so long as he continued to live within the College walls, and afterwards at his home, he received the friends and former pupils who came to see him, and of

whom he retained the most exact remembrance, — recalling at once their names, characters, position, and rank in College, — with the cordiality of the olden time, and entertained them with conversation full of amusing reminiscence, quaint humor, wit, and learning. Sometimes he would offer to restore an interlined copy of the *Græca Majora*, which he had captured from his visitor years before, in the recitation-room.

I was in the habit of calling to see him in his study, and never without receiving amusement, delight, and instruction ; and I now regret that I made no effort to preserve a record of the rare peculiarities of his genial conversation. I will mention, however, one incident of the olden time that occurred in a visit of mine to the Doctor, which will be understood and relished by those who knew him. Some friend had sent me a few bottles of Greek wine, labelled, *Ἑλληνικὸς οἶνος*. Thinking the Doctor might be pleased to see and taste the long-descended offspring of the grape of Anacreon, I took one of them with me, and called at his house, telling him what I had brought. He examined the label curiously, repeated the Greek words several times, walking all the while rapidly round the room, as if he almost fancied himself transported back to the Heroic Age, then went to a closet and brought out a rusty corkscrew, with two old-fashioned wine-glasses. Having drawn the cork with considerable difficulty, he filled the glasses, handed one to me across the table, on which lay an open volume of the *Iliad*, and, standing at his full height, gravely proposed, “The memory of Homer.” The toast to the old Ionian was drunk standing, with a hearty good-will, in the presence of his portrait, and many editions of his works, — perhaps the only time such a ceremony has ever taken place this side the classical ages.

There was another peculiarity of Dr. Popkin, which

ought not to be passed over, though his general excellence makes it our duty to treat it tenderly. He sometimes, though very rarely, brooded over real or imaginary slights or wrongs with singular tenacity, and his manner at these times reminded one of the Shade of Ajax, who, meeting Ulysses in Hades,

"disdains to stay,
In silence turns, and sullen stalks away."

These actions were rather the freaks of a distempered state of body than the natural outflowings of the heart. They were human imperfections, shading, and only shading, the nobleness of his character, — a kind of inconsistency that compels the best of men to fall short of perfection.

It must not be inferred, from what has been said of Dr. Popkin's shyness and reserve, that he was on any occasion afraid to perform his duty. His timidity was a distrust of his own intellectual ability, as compared with that of others. When preaching in Boston, he felt that he was undertaking to teach wiser men than himself; and he shrank from the seeming presumption. But in the performance of duty he knew neither partiality nor fear. The distrust and shyness of the intellectual man vanished from the man of action. During his long college life, he did his full share of the unpleasant work of maintaining order and enforcing discipline; and college men know that this always requires firmness, and sometimes no little courage. In administering censure, which as chairman of the committee within the walls he was often obliged to do, his words were few, but directly to the point, and his manner impressive; —

"ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευεν
Παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως· ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος
Οὐδ' ἀφαιμαρτοσεπής."

Dr. Popkin might have taken, undoubtedly, a high posi-

tion in the literature of the country, but for this morbid shyness, which sometimes darkened into hypochondria. The strength and culture of his mind are shown in the few religious and literary works which he ventured to give to the public. His critical ability is exhibited, though with characteristic modesty, in his edition of the Gloucester Greek Grammar, and of Dalzel's *Collectanea Græca Majora*, on both of which he expended much care and labor. The text of this work was crowded with errors, and needed a laborious and critical revision. No one, unaccustomed to such task-work, can form an idea of its drudgery, and the time required to do what makes no show and attracts no attention. Dr. Popkin went through it with exemplary patience, correcting many thousand errors and mistakes, so that the classes had at least an excellent edition, however unsuited the work itself might be to a liberal study of Greek literature at the University. The notes he inserted among the commentaries of Dalzel are always close to the point, of Spartan brevity, like his pregnant hints in the class-room, usually accompanied by the modest mark of interrogation, and signed by the unpretending "P." Those who sat under his instruction would not fail, even without the initial, to recognize the hand and manner of Dr. Popkin.

In the course of his clerical life, he published a few occasional sermons. These discourses are models of excellence, both in matter and manner. In soundness of thought, clearness of expression, and strength of style, they remind us of the better class of the old English divines.

The most considerable literary effort, however, made by Dr. Popkin, was the preparation of a course of lectures on Greek Literature, which he delivered to the students of the University, as required by the statutes of his Profes-

sorship. It was with a painful struggle that he brought himself to appear as a public lecturer; and those who listened to his introductory discourse well remember the earnestness of his lamentation over the absence of Mr. Everett, whose elegant learning, wealth of illustration, and classical eloquence had animated the zeal of scholars for Hellenic studies, and had surrounded the Professor's chair with every charm of copious erudition and exquisite taste. His eulogy on his predecessor was just, as well as warm; but his estimate of himself was unjust. Dr. Popkin's lectures were distinguished by learning, manly sense, and a strong and pure English style; nor were they wanting in illustrations drawn from modern literature. Shakespeare, Milton, Walter Scott, and other great English writers, were familiar to him, and his subject was often clothed with unexpected interest by happy allusions to fine passages in their works. In 1836, Dr. Popkin published a part of this course, under the title of "Three Lectures on Liberal Education." It would be difficult to find a work in which this subject is handled with more freshness and vigor. The style of the pamphlet is copious, racy, and hearty, having the native robustness of character which marks the best age of our Saxon language. The gravity of the discussion is enlivened by a vein of quaint and quiet humor, and here and there a sly sally of satire upon the follies of sentiment and fantastic fine writing of the day, in which those who were in habits of intercourse with him see at once the characteristics of his daily talk; but these touches were always so good-natured, so absolutely free from malice, so steeped in benevolence of spirit, that the most sensitive admirers of the age could take no offence.

Dr. Popkin's whole life was marked by kindness, honesty, and piety. He had, more than most men, "that simplicity wherein," to borrow the words of one of *the au-*

thors, "nobleness of nature most largely shares." The prominent features of his religious character were reverence, conscientiousness, charity, and moderation. His views were what are called Evangelical, as distinguished both from Unitarianism and Rationalism; but he never engaged in theological controversy, and did not like to be called after the leader of any particular sect. "To confess the truth," he says, "and that without pride or pleasure, but rather on some accounts with regret, I have not much followed any man or system, though I highly respected both my teachers. I have sought, very imperfectly, to derive my sentiments from the Bible. I was *approved* by the Boston Association, I suspect, as a person well known, but known as an anomaly, and admitted in charity. I like what is commonly understood by the term Evangelical Preaching, but not the extremes on any side. Yet these extremes appear to be the very essence, the essential points of the various systems, and for this reason, that they are the chief points of difference, and are therefore most closely and stoutly fenced and opposed and defended. And these points are such as are most beyond our comprehension. In my humble opinion, religion is or ought to be, in its highest points, more a matter of sentiment than definition. I think that the expressions of the Divine Word are best adapted to make the right impressions on the human mind; and that what we call the heart, or the affections, may be duly impressed by Divine expressions which the mind cannot fully comprehend. But then we ought not to attempt to define or explain these expressions further than they are revealed by the Divine Word."

Being asked by an anxious lady of his parish, if he was a *Hopkinsian*, — a sectarian designation then much in vogue in the religious circles, — he replied, "Madam, I am a *Popkinsian*." He never dogmatized, and was free

from all the bitterness of strife, and while firmly adhering to the views which commended themselves to his reason and conscience, and so far as his natural hesitation and modest uncertainty allowed him to arrive at positive conclusions, he was willing to leave to others, without dispute, the liberty of thought and religious feeling which he quietly asserted for himself; and his conduct through life was in the strictest harmony with these fundamental principles.

He attended worship in the University Chapel, and occasionally officiated there, until a short time before his resignation, when he suddenly withdrew, and for a time attended the Orthodox Congregational Society, then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Dr. Adams. Finally, he sought repose in the Episcopal Church, having, it is supposed, become convinced, by his study of the early ecclesiastical writers, of the use of liturgies by the primitive Christians, and finding much to approve in the episcopal order, and the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church, as well as in its quiet and moderation. The Rev. Mr. Hoppin, Rector of the Church in Cambridge, says: "For many years he was a most punctual and faithful worshipper and communicant. Of great simplicity and singleness of heart, integrity and purity of life, and uniform and consistent piety, he was yet singularly modest and self-distrustful. Frequent and humbling as are the confessions of sin in the offices of the Church, he has remarked, 'I would fain have them more and deeper.'"

His acquaintance with the Scriptures rested upon a profound knowledge of the original languages in which they were written. During the latter years of his life, he abandoned classical literature almost wholly, and devoted all his remaining energies to the reverent study of the Old and the New Testament, especially the former, in the Hebrew and the Septuagint translation.

So lived, so thought, worked, and died Dr. Popkin, — a man of rare abilities, who shunned the public eye, but left the stamp of fine qualities and rich individuality of character on the minds of many distinguished men who have been educated, within the last half-century, at Harvard University.

In the preceding sketch, I have sought to present an exact likeness of the man, drawn from his own papers and from the recollections of surviving friends. To those who knew him not, perhaps some of the anecdotes may appear trivial; to those who knew him, they will serve to recall the man as he was in his daily walk and talk.

Dr. Popkin enjoyed, especially in the latter part of his life, but few literary relations. It is extraordinary, that a man could have lived to the age of eighty, and not have had a larger number of correspondents. His principal friends, to whom he occasionally wrote, were, besides Jabez Kimball, who died young, the late Professor Hedge, the late John Pickering, the late Dr. Pierce, and Judge White. He seldom or never wrote for the mere pleasure of communication, but always for some special purpose or business. This is to be regretted: for from the specimens of his letter-writing I have given in the preceding pages it is clear that, with the common habits of literary men, he would have left an entertaining and racy body of correspondence. In letters, as well as in his other writings, his style is natural, vigorous, and exactly expressive of his character.

His manuscript sermons are sufficiently numerous to fill several volumes. Their publication would be a valuable contribution to that somewhat neglected species of literature.

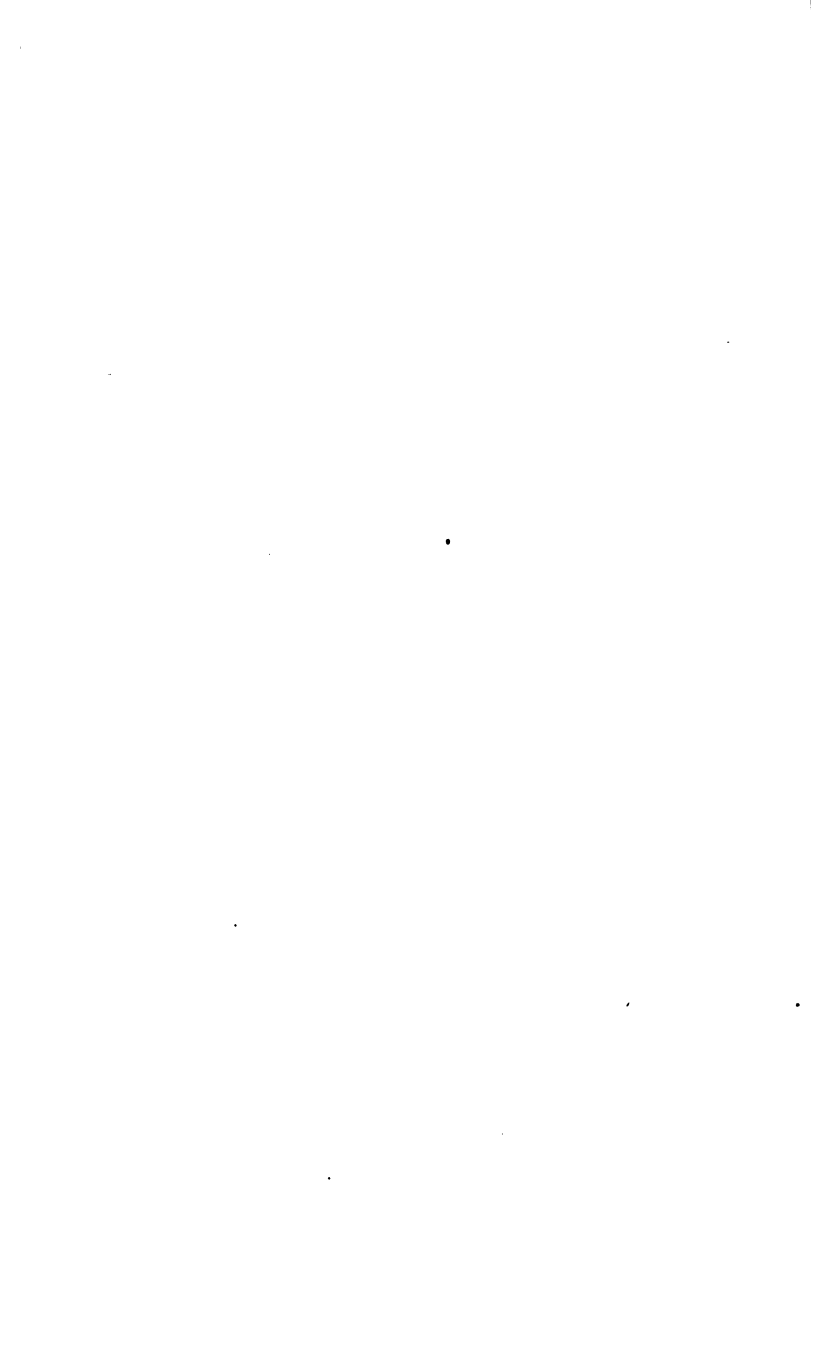
The present volume being intended only as a literary

memorial for Dr. Popkin's friends, in selecting from among the materials placed at my disposal it has been my aim to choose from his writings those which seemed to me most characteristic of his heart and mind. I have therefore taken, in addition to his Lectures published by himself, those which embodied in the largest measure his original thought, omitting such as treated of investigations less generally interesting or since handled with better means of reaching satisfactory results.

I had thought to add a few notes to some of the Lectures, those on Homer for instance, containing a brief account of the literature of the subjects which has appeared since they were delivered. But the volume has swelled in my hands beyond the dimensions originally determined on, and I forbear.

In selecting from his sermons, published and unpublished, I have endeavored to give specimens embracing as large a variety as possible, in subject, manner, and dates. I have also aimed to select those which would have the greatest general attraction. He published several excellent sermons, preached on occasions of local interest ; these I have passed over. The earliest in the following selection belongs to the first year of his preaching in Boston, and the latest to the last year of his settlement in Newbury : the former is a funeral sermon, delivered the first Sunday after the news of Washington's death reached Massachusetts, and the latter is a thanksgiving sermon on the conclusion of the last war, and the declaration of peace with England ; — a suitable beginning and a suitable close, as it appeared to me, for the labors of a Christian minister.

THREE LECTURES
ON
LIBERAL EDUCATION.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Three Lectures were delivered in the way of office, and are now published by way of occupation. They are of a general character, treating chiefly of the manner of Instruction, and of the matter of Education. If they be found acceptable, I shall be gratified; and more so, if useful. If not, I must bear my own burden.

JOHN S. POPKIN.

CAMBRIDGE, *July 4th*, 1836.

LECTURE I.

THE name of SAMUEL ELIOT, the munificent Founder of the Professorship of Greek Literature, is extensively known, and highly respected, for his strong and vigorous intellect, his judicious and successful operations, and his active and effective benevolence. I was his townsman, and we all knew Mr. Eliot's zeal for good works; and I think these significant words of the Apostle may be aptly and justly applied to him: "zealous of good works." The design of this Foundation is obvious, and is understood to be that of engaging a person, and a succession of persons, in the permanent study and instruction of the Greek language and literature. Or, in the words of the law on the subject: "It shall be the duty of the Professor to cultivate and promote the knowledge of the Greek language and of Greek

literature." This generous purpose and donation show the high sense entertained by an enlarged and enlightened mind of the importance of the study to a liberal education, and to the Christian religion. The interest of learning held a high place in his estimation; but, doubtless, the highest object and motive was to promote the knowledge of that language, in which the volume of divine truth and grace was composed and is preserved; and in which the faith and the sentiments of its living and dying martyrs are recorded for a testimony to all succeeding generations.

The regulation and direction of the office were referred to the highest authorities of the University; and their ordinances, we are informed, were approved by the Founder. The duties prescribed and implied are formidably extensive and arduous. The Professor "shall give public and private lectures, as the Corporation may determine, on the genius, structure, characteristics, and excellences of the Greek language in the purest age of the language, and in the period succeeding, not neglecting the state of it in modern times; on the principal Greek authors, taking notice of the Greek Fathers and ecclesiastical writers; and on the interpretation of the Septuagint Version, and of the Greek New Testament, especially so far as

such interpretation may be aided by a knowledge of Greek." He "shall give private lectures or exercises to such of the graduates and undergraduates as may come under his care, in which he shall assign portions of Greek authors to be studied by the pupils. In these exercises it will be his duty to explain and illustrate the work under consideration; to observe the sentiments, spirit, style, and general execution; the imagery and rhetorical beauties; that the University may send out alumni who possess a discriminating knowledge of the renowned productions of Grecian authors, and the powers of the Grecian language."

These duties, to be taken in their full measure, and executed with happy success, require high and bright talents, and strenuous and unremitted exertion; a force, and extent, and versatility of genius, an aptness and correctness of taste and judgment, which are no common portion of human nature. Viewed in all their nature, and relation, and extension, they require an almost incompatible combination of powers and of labors; an untiring industry, a keen accuracy, an ardent investigation, a solid judgment, a rapid execution, a happy expression; and to crown all, to make his works and his words impressive and effectual, one must have a hearty, overweening, and over-

bearing enthusiasm. He must have a wide comprehension and variety of knowledge. He must be a grammarian, a rhetorician, a logician, an historian, a politician, a philosopher, natural and moral, a mathematician, and a poet. At least, he must have a good taste for poetry, eloquence, and elegance; for a chief object of these studies is presented in the poetry, eloquence, and elegance of a people the most celebrated for genius and taste in the world.

Such being the objects presented, and the talents required, one may well be inclined to shrink from the undertaking. It is a work not for one man alone, but for many to employ themselves in divided and distributed labor. An industrious and learned German, as I understand, gives a course of lectures on a single book of no great dimensions. But Professor Dalzel writes in his Lectures: "There are still extant near three thousand Greek books, and about sixty only in Latin, exclusive of those written by the moderns." I have not made the enumeration, nor know by what rule it was made, whether authors, or works, or fragments, or volumes, are counted. But still, I think, the number of authors and works extant is great, even if those be not counted of whom only a few fragments remain. The time also, and

space, through which the whole study extends, is measured by the ages and the regions of the world. Including the Septuagint Version of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the interesting period of Modern Greece, it reaches from the beginning of the world to the present time. In its relations with India and the Sanscrit, and with all Asia and Europe and their languages, with Egypt and all Africa, it spreads from the Ganges to the Atlantic Ocean. And in the connections of history and mankind, in the comparison of languages and modes of communication, it might be extended from the extreme east to the extreme west of the habitable globe.

But we must prudently and necessarily be confined to a narrower compass. The objects and duties prescribed are sufficiently extensive, and more than sufficient for one of moderate ability, and moderate performance; and who can boast no power, nor art, but attention and perseverance. It was proper and right, that the constituting authorities should take a large view of the principal objects of the office, and should set them in wide extent and variety before the mind of the officer. But, I presume, it must be implied and understood, that he should proceed on those points, and in those courses, which he sees and feels that

he can pursue with the best advantage, on his own part, and that of the hearers. For this purpose, and for all the purposes of life, the rule of Socrates, and of Hesiod, is a good precept, and exhortation, and justification: *Καθ' ἕνα μιν*; or in plain English, We must do as well as we can.

The first Professor on this Foundation possessed the powers and qualifications requisite to the office; a great extent of contemplation, rapidity of collection, facility of execution, and felicity of expression; with a brilliant genius, a refined taste, a keen perception, an habitual activity, and a decisive judgment. I sincerely regretted his departure, and the more especially and personally on account of the consequences. He was in his proper sphere; and, so far as I could do any thing, I was in mine. His turn was for enlarged views, general studies, and copious illustration; though he could descend, when occasion required, to minute investigation. Mine was a particular attention to words and sentences; though, I hope, not without regard to the sense and spirit of the authors. In short, he could make an oration, while I was settling an accent.

Both these offices have their several and joint importance; the one to teach, and lead, and prepare the learners; the other to inform, and ad-

vance, and interest those who have made some progress. If but one of these offices can be sustained, it is obvious that the humbler office of the teacher is of the two the most important, or necessary, in the first instance. It is of little avail to recommend a book, and discourse upon it, if the hearer cannot understand nor read it, and is not in the way of learning. The best way, that I can devise, to make him acquainted with it, is to prepare and assist him to read and understand it. That is my way. I read the authors. I read more *of* them, than *about* them. But I keep the critics for consultation, and acknowledge that we are greatly indebted to their labors, and could hardly dispense with their elucidation. But if both offices can be sustained, and well sustained, they afford a mutual assistance. The teacher prepares the learner for the lecturer; and the able lecturer gives an interest to the instruction of the teacher, and rewards the labor of the student. Indeed, if time and circumstances allowed, the two offices might be advantageously united. The recitations might be attended, or followed, or preceded by a continual commentary, critical and rhetorical; and the comments of the student might also be invited and encouraged. This, I believe, is the method of

many of the best instructors in Europe; and it is, I think, the best and most effectual method. But from some defect in the speaker, or the hearers, I have fancied it to be not so kindly received as it was intended, when it has been partially attempted.

In the course of events, and by arrangements deemed expedient for the time, both offices were assigned to the present incumbent, with all their duties, or as much as could be performed; either of which was more than could be conducted by him alone with sufficient advantage. I thought of a commentary or lecture on an author or authors, which with a little use might have been given without much difficulty; but there seemed to be neither time for it, nor opportunity. In a few months after the appointment, by the reduction and connection of offices, I was left alone in the charge of all the instruction in this department. In less than a year I was overwhelmed by an uncommon series of afflictions, attended with personal disease, which left me in an enfeebled state, from which I slowly recovered, and of which I feel the effects at the present day. But now, having obtained able assistance, I must endeavor to execute some of the more peculiar parts of my office; although my daily lessons occupy

almost or quite as much time as when I heard all the classes.

And now I must consider the method or way of proceeding; though I do not expect, nor purpose, to be extremely methodical; nor regularly to exhaust a subject, which is almost inexhaustible; nor myself, nor my hearers, who perhaps on both sides are not altogether so inexhaustible. I would rather endeavor to offer such observations as may occur in reading and reflection, and as may appear suitable to occasion, to circumstances, and to opportunity; beginning naturally with the earliest objects within our contemplation, and proceeding in course to those which may successively invite our attention.

There are various modes of lecturing on these subjects, correspondent to the objects proposed in the exercise. We look to Germany for models of teaching and learning. But as I have never been a present witness, I must gather what I can from inquiry, and consideration, or conjecture.

One method, and, I believe, a principal method, appears to be that which has been mentioned more than once, a continual commentary on an author, of which we may have examples in some of the most considerable editions. The lectures or commentaries, I suppose, have been remodelled

into the continuous forms of volumes of text and notes, with the apparatus which might be deemed advantageous to the work. In the beginning of Heyne's preface to his large edition of Pindar, he says: "I took care to have the Odes of Pindar reprinted twenty-five years ago, that there might be copies convenient for holding schools for interpreting Pindar." These schools, I suppose, were lectures; and the editions printed *in usum scholarum, in usum prælectionum*, are not merely for the preparatory schools, or gymnasia, but for the lectures and students of the universities. The hearers, I imagine, had the printed text, and the lecturer gave the comment, and probably the interpretation. It is somewhere recorded to the honor of Sir John Cheke, the preceptor of Edward the Sixth, and Professor of Cambridge, "that in lecturing he could read a passage of Greek, and render it immediately into English"; I suppose, without stopping to construe, or take the Greek words singly in the English order of construction. There is a curious simplicity in the praise, that the learned Professor could translate Greek without construing; but it is introduced here to show his manner of lecturing. Milton sings his praise:—

"Thy age, like ours, O Soul of Sir John Cheek,
Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,
When thou taught'st Cambridge, and King Edward, Greek."

There is another edition of Pindar by Boeckh, which, I understand, was first delivered in lectures. The celebrated Wolf, the editor of Homer, has published an edition of the Theogony of Hesiod, as I think, for the use of his schools or lectures.

But it is unnecessary to multiply instances.

Even of this method of comment there may be various modes, according to the various objects that may be proposed. I conceive the most general and profitable method is, to give an exposition of the text and sense of an author, of the language and construction, with pertinent references and comparisons, observation of peculiarities and remarkable passages, discussion of difficulties, suggestion of needed emendations from the various readings of manuscripts and other authorities, and the conjectures of the learned; without descending to the elementary learning of the preparatory schools, or going far and wide into the vast forest of various readings. And in this method it might be profitable, and I believe it is practised, that the students give an interpretation, and even a comment, in the way of recitation.

The collection of various readings and the correction of the text is the province of professed editors; and of late they appear to limit themselves mostly to this species of annotation, with some

treatment of difficult places. When a critic of this sort meets with a spacious descant, or declamation, of a former editor, he dryly remarks upon it: "This it is to be a critic." In this country we have not the materials for this kind of criticism, but at second hand in European editions. When these are cautiously and judiciously executed, they confer great benefits on literature. It often happens, that an obscure or inexplicable passage is well cleared by the discovery of a better reading, or by a happy conjecture. The greatest difficulties of ancient authors are found in the corruption of the text through the effects of time, or by careless or ignorant transcribers, or presumptuous correctors or innovators, or unconscionable interpolators. Some editors give both kinds of notes, that which is peculiarly called the criticism of the text, and that which contributes to the explanation; by which, when well conducted, they confer a double and not a superfluous benefit.

To those who are prepared as the scholars in Europe are, and who are desirous of proceeding to the interior of literature, the method of commenting which has been stated is most profitable, and, I presume, most acceptable. And this is the method which I should prefer to follow, as far as I could, as most useful in itself, and most condu-

cive to learning; and most agreeable to my habits of study, and to my predilection. But in the immature state of our schools and colleges, and republic of letters, and under the prevalent influence of public opinion, I doubt whether it would be most acceptable, or even most profitable; and think it would be more advisable to endeavor to collect and communicate some more general information or observation. Yet it may be done with those who are desirous of learning.

The method of the ingenious and amiable Wyttenbach, as described in the preface to his Selection of History, is interesting and instructive; and with him it was eminently successful. He received his scholars at an early stage. He set the elder scholars to study a lesson. He heard them perform under his examination, and gave them his exposition. The younger attended the performance, and the next day repeated to him the exercise which they had heard. He laid the greatest stress on repetition; and recommended and required it, till the work became known and familiar, and the reader could perceive and feel the merits of the writer. He had mostly made his own way in learning. After having read several books, he approached Demosthenes, and met with new difficulties. He labored through the first

Olynthiac with trouble, *ærumna*. He read it again, and it was plain and clear; but he perceived not the celebrated power of the orator. He read it a third time, and a fourth, and received a new sense, and a new affection pervaded his mind, and increased with every perusal. This is his own account abridged.

In the dark ages, when the few books existing were in manuscript, and at the revival of letters, when books were rare and dear, I suppose most instruction was given in the way of lecturing. And this way is continued, and has its advantages, in universities. For though, as I believe, the study of books, with the exercises of an instructor, if they be faithfully followed, are the most essential and effectual; yet public lectures, if successfully conducted, may give enlarged or collected information, and may assist, and promote, and direct the willing mind. In both ways, however paradoxical and incredible it may be thought, there is nevertheless in reason some shadow of verisimilitude, that those who have studied much and largely, if they have an aptitude for communication, may possibly assist and even instruct those who have as yet had time to study but little in comparison; provided, that they be desirous or willing to receive instruction.

In the introductory schools, I think, Prelections were given by the teachers to the learners. According to the meaning of the word, the Preceptor went before, as I suppose, and explained and probably interpreted the lesson, or lection; and the scholar was required to receive it in memory, or in notes, and in due time to render it in recitation. This practice may have been retained in some sort in the higher schools or higher classes; and the name may have been retained, as it appears, when the practice was varied. Those who began their classical course with Corderius, if any such be present beside myself, may remember, that some of the first lessons are dialogues concerning the prelections of the Preceptor, which one scholar was repeating by himself, and of which another had taken notes. The traditional formularies of our Academical Degrees, a little altered indeed, appear to have been derived from these ancient modes and forms of education. “*Vobisque trado hunc librum [now, hæc diplomata], una cum potestate publice prælegendi.*” Thus the first degree confers the power, or right, or title, of giving prelections, lessons, of teaching schools or classes. The second, “*una cum potestate publice profitendi,*” confers the power, or right, or title, of professing, of giving lectures, “*quotiescunque*

ad hoc munus evocati fueritis." The better way, I think, is not to anticipate too much, nor prevent the industry and ingenuity of the student; but rather to lay out the work, and perhaps break the ground, leaving him to work and till the soil, and cultivate his own fruits by his own strength and skill; and then to prune, and engraft, and improve the productions, as far as we are able. This appears to have been the way of Wyttenbach.

There is another method of discoursing on these subjects, which may be properly called Rhetorical; such as would be followed in professed lectures or treatises of Rhetoric. And these may admit a diversity of views and courses. But, in general, they would treat of the genius and character of authors, of the merits and defects of their works, of their language and style, their matter and manner, their sentiment and expression, their purpose and their execution, their particular excellences and general composition; in a word, of all that may be observed or imagined in this direction. This species of representation, if it could be well exhibited, would probably be the most agreeable, and the most fruitful. But I fear, that I should have the honor of "falling from great attempts" in this, more than in almost any other endeavor. If I have my own tastes and distastes,

I apprehend they are so peculiar, that I should stand alone, or fall alone, in matters of taste, as in matters of higher import. Yet these speculations, as they occur, may be conjoined with others, that are more strictly critical, or grammatical, or historical. And the grammatical basis of language must be the foundation of the rhetorical superstructure. The language is almost a synonymous term for the expression; and it is so connected with the sentiment, that they can hardly be separated, but as the separation of the body and the soul, especially in poetical composition. In fact, we think, as well as speak, by the medium of words. We live in a world of words; which are indeed the signs of thoughts and of things; though often the disguises, and *sometimes* the substitutes.

The rules and observations of the rhetorical art are highly useful, if they are sound, to lead the mind to perceive and feel the inspirations of genius, and the corrections of judgment; and to show the correct, and check the perverted use of its own faculties. But it must not stop there. It must go to the fountains; it must learn of the original masters; it must peruse the great authors; and there it must be nourished, and cherished, and replenished, and invigorated, and stim-

ulated to exert its own powers, and put forth its own productions. From them the laws of Rhetoric were first derived. This art was not first formed as a mould, in which their works might be cast. It may well assist to form the taste and direct the judgment of the aspirant. But it is not enough for him to have studied the art; he must also, and chiefly, find the materials and their use in the best authors, and in his own mind. And in these sources, with his art, he may by habit acquire both matter and form. The soul of genius works its own way, and makes its own laws, and gives laws to others. It may be corrected; it may be improved. But, I imagine, it was hardly conscious to itself of half the principles and purposes which are ascribed to it by the critical reader. Yet it had them, and it used them, and produced the effects, and sent them forth to the world, by the spontaneous operation of the mysterious powers of the human mind. If the superiority of the earlier over the later poets, in point of genius, be justly asserted, one great cause may have been, that they wrought fervently in liberty and passion; but their successors labored humbly and timidly in chains and fetters under a severe dominion. Yet Homer was not the first of his line, but the acme of an

ascending order of poets, as Olën, and Linus, and Orpheus, and others known and unknown. It is said, there were schools in his day, and chiefly schools of poetry, and he was a Master. Every palace of Homer, or of Homer's kings, had its divine poet, *Σείος ἀοιδός*; and Achilles in his tent and in his wrath sang the glories of men to his harp. The dawn and the morning precede the rising sun; and the light arose on the darkness of chaos, before the central orb shone forth from the heavens.

The last method which I shall mention may be called the Historical. The term explains itself. This must of course be principally a Literary History, of the language and literature, of the authors and their works, and the genius and manners and knowledge of the people. Yet must it naturally connect itself in some points with the civil or political history, and particularly with that which is specially called the Archæological, the origin, the antiquities, and the mythology of the nation. It is also properly and easily, we may say necessarily, connected with the criticism, the rhetoric, the poetry, and the information, presented in the language; but in that limited measure of the parts, which may be consistent with a comprehensive and collected survey of the whole.

Thus we have before us four principal methods; the Critical, treating of the Text; the Exegetical, explaining the Sense; the Rhetorical, displaying the Spirit; and the Historical, surveying the Whole. These may be, and must be, combined, in a greater or less degree, according to the purpose proposed; and mostly so in the historical, in that degree and manner which may be deemed expedient on various occasions. This last, therefore, is the course which I propose in some sort to follow; without however imposing on myself too severe a law, from which I may be tempted, or forced, not unfrequently to seek a dispensation.

I must repeat, that this is not my natural nor chosen course. It rather takes me out of my way, and draws me to the superficies and the circumference, to survey the *ἱερόν*, the lands, the exterior, the columns, and the ornaments, which are indeed the most imposing to the spectator: when the way of my choice is, to penetrate directly to the interior, the *Adytum*, the *Naός*, where the Palladium *dwells* enshrined, and where the mysteries are revealed, and the candidates are initiated. To speak plainly, I would read the authors, one at a time, and read them throughout, rather than search out a thousand inscriptions, or

the title-pages of three thousand books, and take and give a slight and hasty notice. And, to speak truly, these things are the garniture, rather than the furniture, of a college. For after all that is declaimed, "of the spirit of the age, and the wants of society, and the progress of improvement," and so forth, the root of the matter is to be found in the humble and simple, old-school, tedious business of recitation. Yet we must confess, that the benefit of this exercise must depend on the manner and spirit with which it is conducted and followed. But this present course is my bounden duty, and I must endeavor to perform it, and turn it to the best advantage that may be in my power. And there are no small advantages in the course proposed, at least to the performer. For it allows him to offer just what he pleases, with discretion, or just what occurs to him in contemplation; to do just what he can, without pledging himself to do more; and, if he fail in one point, to bring himself up with another; and, if he must leave chasms and intervals, he may fill them up at his leisure, as he may find time or materials. And there are copious resources, to which he may resort in his necessity. Every principal author is furnished with a literary history, *Notitia Literaria*,

prefixed to some critical edition. And there are many critics, who have written expressly on the variety of these subjects. And there is Gronovius's Antiquities, in twelve volumes of huge folio. And, finally, there is an immense storehouse in the Bibliotheca of Fabricius and Harles, which admits no fear of exhaustion, except perhaps of the strength of the reader, or of the patience of the hearers.

LECTURE II.

WHAT studies properly constitute a Liberal Education? What studies properly go to form the mind and the character of a man, who may justly be called a liberal and a general scholar? The pursuit and the accomplishment have been different in different ages, according to the condition of the times, and the existing modes and degrees of knowledge.

The Greeks studied their own language and authors, and scarcely knew or regarded others; and hardly acknowledged any superiors. They called others Barbarians, not more for their cruelty, or disregard of the laws of justice, than for their want of mental cultivation and improvement, and a polished civilization. Indeed, their language itself appears to have been a common and most observable mark of distinction. Yet

their Philosophers went abroad, to Egypt, and even to Chaldea, to obtain a greater knowledge of nature, and astronomy, and antiquities, and of the philosophy of the human mind, and of the Divine Essence. But still Greece was their home, the abode of poetry, of eloquence, and of all elegant learning and writing. They scarcely knew or regarded a separate and peculiar people, whose poetry and eloquence far transcend "all Greek and Roman fame." But this was the true language of inspiration; not the figurative inspiration of the Poets; but the divine inspiration, which gave to their Psalmists, and Prophets, and Sages, their superior understanding, and their superlative imagination. Yet the Poets and Philosophers of Greece appear to have caught some rays from the light that shone on Zion's mount; and there is a remarkable affinity between some of the laws of Solon and of Moses.

When Greece, decayed, fell under the power of triumphant Rome, her political masters, as is often said, became her literary scholars; and her language and learning became a classical study of Roman youth and Roman manhood. They indeed cultivated their own language and oratory with all zeal and attention. But their stu-

dents frequented the schools of Greece, or drew her sons to Rome, to be their guides and instructors.

When Rome in her turn was decayed, or her empire was divided, the learning of the East retired to its native regions; and the West, though overrun by the savage powers of the North, retained the language of Rome in the Schools and the Church. This language, barbarized, continued to be the language of the Schools, and, I think, of the laws, without interruption. The learning of the Schools, which is often named, was chiefly a subtle and verbal Logic, or logical method, applied to all questions and subjects of a clerical, civil, or metaphysical nature. It might be well applied. But it appears to have been often a quibbling, or punning, on abstract and equivocal terms, which might admit a diverse application, and could not be easily tied down to the truth and reality of things. Natural knowledge was not much cultivated; and he who pursued it was in danger of being burnt for a wizard. And Mental and Moral knowledge were not well cultivated; for he who sought the truth was in danger of being burnt for a heretic. Yet Gerbert, a most respectable man, and scholar, and Pope, under the title of Sylvester the Second,

was a celebrated mathematician and philosopher in the tenth century. He was a native of France, and he travelled to Spain to obtain instruction from the Arabians, who were then the principal depositaries of science in the world. But this great Pontiff, the head of the Roman Church, "was treated by the monks as a magician and a disciple of Satan, and his geometrical figures were regarded as magical operations." However, I believe there was more learning, such as it was, in those ages, than is commonly supposed. Their Logic was originally derived from Aristotle, who for ages was esteemed the oracle of the Schools and of the Catholic Church. But, I think, it was much transformed and perverted, by the process of time, and the progress of error and delusion. I have one syllogism in my mind, which may serve as a specimen. The object was to maintain an important and favorite position, that the ecclesiastics were not subject to the civil laws and government; and this is the argument, to wit:

"The law was not made for the righteous, but the wicked."

Now, the spiritual men are the righteous.

Therefore the law was not made for the spiritual men.

Again, the ecclesiastics are the spiritual men.

Therefore, the law was not made for the ecclesiastics.

The first proposition, in its proper place and sense,

is sacred truth. But an opponent might deny and dispute the following, if he dared; and I shall not undertake the office of respondent. I do not recollect my authority, if there were any. I thought it was in Thomas Aquinas, called the Angelic Doctor. He has something like it; a question, whether the righteous and spiritual are subject to human law; and an answer, that they are under a higher law; and an explanation, that they are not subject to human law, because they do not disobey it, and incur its penalties, unless it oppose their supreme law. And this appears to be a reasonable interpretation.

The Latin language was preserved in some purity in its native soil of Italy; where the common language was but a popular and mixed dialect of the ancient. A cardinal was afraid to read the Bible in the Latin Vulgate, lest it should spoil his classical Latin.

When the Eastern Empire sank under the banner of Mohammed, the learned Greeks fled to Italy; and brought with them their language and their manuscript authors. They were received with an ardent welcome; and by liberal presses and liberal students these works were spread abroad with enthusiasm in the Western nations. They revived the dominion of good taste and

.

good sense, and, under a special Providence, of reformed religion. The classic Greek and Latin languages and writings became the studies of the higher schools and the universities, a principal part of a liberal education, and the labor and pleasure and pride of the learned. They roused the mind from the chains and darkness of ages, and enlightened it with new views of the nature and rights of man, and of the just principles of government. Greece was the very birthplace and nursery of liberty; and its history displays at once her charms and her dangers. To the spring which these studies gave to the mind, with the revived power of the Christian Religion, may be attributed the improvement of human society, the progress of social order, and just and generous sentiment, of arts and sciences and general knowledge, of all that contributes to the true comfort and enjoyment and embellishment of life. These studies were indeed, as we have said, the precursors of this religious revival; and they were its constant attendants and necessary instruments; they afford the evidence of the truth, and the means of interpretation; and if we relinquish them, if we neglect them,—far be it from us “to limit the Holy One of Israel,”—but in all human views, and as to all human means, we do

in effect relinquish and renounce all the best hope and help of man, for this world and the world to come.

The professed students were indeed retired men, though celebrated in their day, and in our day, and were employed in the work of criticism, as revolting to the practical man as it is engrossing to the studious. But they were preparing the way for others; they were educating men to be the guides of the people, the leaders of society, and the statesmen of the public; and were thus spreading the influence of their silent labors through the great body of the community.

As knowledge increased, and Sciences and Arts were cultivated, these also were justly admitted into the seminaries of education. Logic had always held its place, but was encumbered with useless or injurious subtilties. Metaphysics and Ethics were in some manner studied, and especially Scholastic Theology. The Civil or Roman Law was introduced to the higher classes. And the Canon Law, or law of the Church, was early cultivated, not so much, it seems, to govern the Church, as to authorize the Church to govern the people. There were early famous schools of Medicine, especially in Italy. The Mathematical and Natural Sciences appear to have advanced more

slowly, but at the same time surely ; and now they hold an eminent place in the condition of society, and in the institutions of learning.

But still the ancient languages are everywhere the introductory studies ; and constitute in most places a considerable part of the course of education ; and occupy most of the lives of many learned men ; and by most learned men of every vocation they are strongly recommended. The study of these languages is not, or ought not to be, the mere study of words. It is, or ought to be, the study of things, of thoughts and sentiments and expression, of description and imagination, of facts and principles, of causes and effects, of all that men of the best talents produce, in the finest language, in a cultivated state of society, to instruct and please mankind.

There is a Circle or Course of learning, which men of knowledge and judgment have recommended and appointed, as essential to a liberal education. In the schools established by Charlemagne, and others of those and later times, the Course was called the Seven Liberal Arts ; Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. Grammar included language ; and logic, I suppose, the science of the mind, so far as it proceeded ; and music was ne-

cessary to the service of the churches. This great and zealous patron of schools and learning endeavored to promote the study of the Greek language, but probably with no great or permanent success. Yet in the reign of his grandson, Charles the Bald, Johannes Scotus Erigena, a great scholar, and favorite of the monarch, is said to have been a thorough Grecian, and to have travelled to Athens in quest of learning.

The present Course of education is that with which we are in some measure acquainted.

The Sciences of the Mind, of Morals, of Society, and of Religion manifest by the very terms their own importance. It appears too evident to be disputed, or even to be defended. They must command the approbation, if not the attention, of the rational soul. It is in reason the chief concern of man to know himself, his duty, and his end; and to live as the principles of life, and of the living soul, instruct and require. No one ought to be called a man of education, who has not attended to the highest and greatest objects and ends of education.

The Natural and Mathematical Sciences are now in the highest public estimation. They are accounted as the principal things. They enter directly into the worldly business of men and soci-

ety. They directly promote an interest, which is commonly the nearest to mankind, their present and temporal interest. But here particularly we cannot reach the end without the use of the means. The first principles are exact science, demonstrative reasoning, of which no scholar ought to be ignorant. And they inculcate the habit of exact reasoning; which, being duly combined with the moral probabilities of life and of reason, forms a power of accurate investigation and correct judgment. But let us not stop at first principles; let us look to the consequences and the conclusions. Let us look to the earth and the heavens, and behold the interesting results of philosophy, and the sublime discoveries of astronomy. These display the power of the mind, the wonders of creation, and the glory of the Creator. In this light a vivid evidence strikes my mind of the immortal nature of the soul. There are moral evidences, which are sound; and there is a divine testimony, which is sure. But when we look on mankind, we see much that is little, low, base, vicious, much even where we might expect better things; not much, in comparison, that breathes an immortal spirit, and "lives for eternity"; not much of that moral excellence and dignity, which appear formed and fitted to "shine as the bright-

ness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever." But again, when I turn and see "a mortal man unfold all nature's law"; when I see this little creature creeping on the earth, and measuring the heavens; calculating the distance of the stars, and the courses of the comets; applying an angle to a spot of the sun, and measuring not only the length and breadth, but the depth also, of a chasm in his radiant atmosphere, — I am ready to say, as Thomson said of Newton:—

" Say, can a soul,
Of such extensive, deep, tremendous powers,
Enlarging still, be but a finer breath
Of spirits dancing through their tubes awhile,
And then for ever lost in vacant air ? "

And what is said of Newton must be said of man; for the soul of Newton was a human soul; and many an unformed Newton has spent his unknown life in the dreary desert, or in the slavish mine. The intellectual appears higher than the moral character of man. But still it is the moral character which makes his present welfare, and marks his future destination. And the true and solid foundation of the moral character is religion, the Christian religion.

There is another principal branch of study, which all will approve, and which to the scholar

is second in importance only to morals and religion; and that is the study of his own language, and of the literature which it contains. This is confessedly an object of primary importance, and is justly held in high estimation. For this is the language in which we must speak, and write, and think, and communicate, and transact our affairs, and perform our duties, and exert our powers, and produce their effects, and extend their influence. This then deserves an assiduous culture. It is cultivated professedly in the exercises and instructions of Rhetoric; but, from the nature of the subject, most of the work must be done, and the knowledge obtained, in the silence of the study. It is richly stored with learning, and knowledge, and sentiment, with all instructive and elegant literature. It is also tainted with much that is noxious and deleterious. I apprehend that the plain, honest, manly, vigorous, Old English good sense has become antiquated; and is supplanted by a feverish delirium of passion and pleasure; which, like other stimulants, excites, and relaxes, and unnerves the mind, and unfits it for sober and useful employment. The business of life is no play, and the studies of life are no novels, except perhaps the Novels of Justinian. There is an observation of the great critic of antiquity,

which we have read annually, but which I hardly believed, or understood, till I read some of the most popular modern productions. The observation is this: "That those who undertake to compose works of invention are able to succeed well in the diction, the sentiments, and the characters, more early and easily than in the combination of the story and the incidents." "I leave it where I found it." I would not morosely condemn all amusement; and cannot officially condemn all imagination. But I apprehend that the flood of amusement and imagination, with which the world is overwhelmed, is unfavorable to solid learning and sound judgment. Beside the wrong notions which these things often communicate, a predominant taste for them causes a distaste to those studies which constitute sound learning, a sound mind, and a solid education.

The fathers or leaders of New England were sound scholars; they were scholars in Old England; and they established schools and colleges, that their posterity might be scholars, and that all good learning might not disappear with the generation that imported it into the Western World. The authors or the leaders of the Revolution were chiefly scholars, or men of sound knowledge and serious employment; nourished in those stud-

ies and pursuits which form a strong and hardy mind, and a deep and determined action. They were men of principle, and they investigated principles, and they calculated consequences; and their calculations were proved wonderfully accurate and triumphantly successful. The same must be said of the authors of the Constitution, who indeed were chiefly of the same persons. And we must preserve, or recover, the like soundness and strength, the like light and force of mind, the like wisdom and virtue, to preserve the privileges and honors which they have achieved and transmitted.

To our own language, and to general literature, other Modern Languages are a very useful, and, I presume, an agreeable appendage. They may be useful in direct communication. But their more extensive use is in opening the stores of various knowledge and sentiment, which are contained in various languages; and in learning and comparing the different modes of thought, and of life, which prevail in different nations. This use is obvious. But there is another use connected with it, which may not be so obvious, and which may be too subtle and recondite, though real and actual, to be easily explored, and exemplified, and apprehended. This is the curious study of lan-

guage, considered in itself; the knowledge and comparison of the various forms and modes of expression, in which different nations have embodied or invested their thoughts, perceptions, and affections; of the innumerable ramifications and accretions, which have probably grown out and spread in endless variety from the original stock of one primitive language. This is a science by itself; nor is it an insulated nor a barren science. It is necessarily and intimately connected with the operations of the mind, the events of history, and the acquisitions of knowledge. The study of other languages, and of the writings which they contain, may also be rendered useful in regard to our own language and composition. For though the affectation or indiscretion of patching foreign words or idioms on our own language is not to be commended, yet the riches of other nations in thought and word may be legitimately converted into our own stores, and reproduced in our own style and idiom. The more resources a man can bring to his work, and use with skill and judgment, the more likely it is to be well furnished and well finished.

The Greek and Latin languages have always been esteemed by the learned as peculiarly adapted to instruct us in the nature and power of lan-

guage and expression; and they contain works which sustain the most powerful and finished expression, and invite and reward the attention of the studious by their intrinsic excellence. The Greek is acknowledged to be the most philosophical and elegant language known in the world. The Latin strikes my ear and my mind as the most smooth in its sounds, and grave and stately in its diction, and suitable to the ruling nation of the world. But the Greek appears at once the most forcible and flexible, the most copious and expressive, adapted to every subject, to the vehement eloquence of freedom, to the copious flow of history, to the polished elegance of poetry, and to the deep and acute discussions of philosophy. It was the language of a people of animated genius of restless activity and fervent energy; who, when they were not engaged in arms or the forum, or thronging the scenes of rival strength and skill, repaired to the walks and the conversations of philosophy, or gave themselves up with delight to the entertainments of wit and the Muses. The language itself is a philosophical study, for its artful structure and polished composition. It is a subject of admiration, and an inquiry of difficult solution, how this people had formed a language so copious and various, rich and expressive, so in-

geniously constructed, and so easily and gracefully flowing into all the forms and powers of verse, before the age of Homer, and before the age which Homer had made illustrious.

But the works which signalize these languages are the objects which are to be proposed as the highest recommendation. These have always held the first rank in poetry and oratory, and in all the strength and beauty of secular writings, in the estimation of those who may be deemed competent judges, and of those who are entitled to the best credit of being impartial. It is not merely the solitary student in his closet, pleased with private studies, and proud of peculiar knowledge, who commends them. Men of letters who are also men of business, engaged in the business of the state, or of the world, who have been trained in these and other pursuits, and can judge of their value and their influence,—these patronize and uphold them, and recommend them as the groundwork of the higher systems of education. They have especially been considered and maintained as the most suitable introduction. This study is particularly adapted to the season of youth, before the mind is matured to grasp the propositions and arguments of science. It affords an improving and invigorating exercise, requiring exertion,

yet not overtasking the faculties. It promotes habits of close attention, accurate investigation, and just discrimination. But it is not the exercise and discipline of the mind alone, which is to be considered as the beneficial result of this study. It produces an habitual knowledge of the principles of language in its most exquisite forms and richest variety, of the precise meaning of words, of the structure and force of sentences, of the distinction of things and the shades of difference, of the composition of discourse both free and measured, of the grace and power of ornament, and of the harmony of modulation. It does more; it opens an acquaintance with the knowledge, the sentiments, the expressions, the productions, the history, and the politics of those ancient nations, who were most famous in their time, and in all succeeding times, and who had attained to a highly cultivated state of understanding, of public address, and of social and literary communication. Vast advances have been made in Science by the studies and discoveries of later ages. But the faculties which pertain to the social nature and relations of man appear to come sooner to maturity; and perhaps sooner to decay, probably by the process of moral and literary corruption. Our Indian eloquence is often celebrated. And the Book of

Job is probably the oldest book in the world, and the grandest in its conceptions and expressions; excepting some which are contained in the same sacred volume.

The approved good sense and good taste of the Ancients might operate to correct the affectation, and extravagance, and obscurity, and spasmodic violence, which result from an excessive desire of novelty, and impression, and excitement. We would not recommend a humble and servile imitation of the best models; but when the mind is taught to think and feel justly, it may the more safely and surely proceed in its own operations. What is said of the benefit to be derived to our own language and literature from a knowledge of others, is preëminently true of these under consideration, for their acknowledged preëminence. Further, though our Saxon English is derived from the German stock, yet very great accessions have accrued from the ancient classics. The Latin abounds in current use, and more so in public discourse and writing; and the Greek has become the nomenclator of almost all the arts and sciences. The very show-bills are decorated or "bristled with Greek," and harder Greek, too, than ever I found in Longinus or Apollonius. How are we to know what is to be seen or heard, un-

less we can go to the lexicon? And even there perhaps we shall be puzzled, for the artists have outstripped the learned. But seriously, an acquaintance with these ancient sources is allowed to be very useful, if not necessary, for acquiring a correct and elegant use of our own language, especially in writing and public speaking; and so, it must also be allowed, is an acquaintance with the German, and French, and other sources, if it can be obtained, and for similar reasons. Doubtless, a man confined to the English, by attention to the best authors and usage, may learn to write it with propriety and elegance. And one immured in antiquity may so far neglect his mother tongue, as to speak and write it in a stiff, uncouth, barren, or uncommon style. Still, I believe it is confessed, that the very best and finest writers of English are those who have combined ancient and modern and general cultivation. And in respectable writers of more limited preparation, I think, we may sometimes observe spots, which appear hardly classical in the ancient or modern sense of the term, particularly in the use or abuse of words. Shakspeare is an exception. Yet I have imagined that I could observe passages which indicate more learning than is commonly allowed him; allusions, resemblan-

ces, or, at least, coincidences of genius. "The man that hath no music in himself," — how like the thought of Pindar: "Whom Jupiter hath not loved, shudder when they hear the song of the Muses." In fine, there is no small advantage in knowing the original sense, the gradual changes, and the present use of words, and their just and happy application. And there is no less advantage in knowing the varieties of thought and expression, that may be gathered and garnered in various and extensive reading.

There is one aspect of this subject, which has always struck me with peculiar force; that it opens to us a view through the past ages of the world to the beginning of time. It makes us in some measure acquainted with the series of ages, and nations, and men, and events, and changes, and causes and effects; with what men thought, and said, and did, and were, in different periods, and in diverse circumstances. In a word, we may contemplate man in all his characters and conditions, ever the same, and ever diversified. Are any so incurious and circumscribed, as to be satisfied with the knowledge of their own little circle, and their own short day? Do we admire Champollion for exploring the monuments and sepulchres of deceased nations, without any de-

sire to know the objects to which he devotes his life? The partial knowledge which we may obtain, even in a limited and imperfect course of study, is as the light of day, compared with the dark and clouded night of total ignorance. Suppose a dark and impervious cloud to settle down on all the past, and to obstruct the retrospect of the earlier world. Would not the sun of knowledge be "shorn of his beams, shedding disastrous twilight, and perplexing" reason? Would not the inquiring mind feel itself involved in a chilling and dejecting obscurity, losing the history of man, and the experience of ages; knowing only that we are here to-day and gone to-morrow, without knowing whence we came, or whither we are going? Great indeed would be the loss of secular knowledge: but incomparably greater the loss of the historical evidence of revelation. Without this truth, the most enlightened nations were involved in the gross darkness of idolatry; and without it, we should be involved in a more hopeless and reckless darkness; a darkness not relieved even by the lurid torch of heathen superstition. Let loose from all religion, the true, and the erroneous, we should have no other fear than that of mutual slaughter. Death an eternal sleep, life a general violence, society a continual, tre-

mendous revolution! and the awful future not the less certain for the unbelief of men! Those who have lived fifty years have seen or heard it in their day. May none ever see it in this land! Surely the ministers of our religion ought to know its history and evidence; and surely they ought to understand its native and original language. Without this preparation, how will they meet the objections of the gainsayer, or the neglect of the indifferent? How will they answer, if the subtle or the bold question their evidence and demand their authority? Or how even will they supply the candid and sincere "with knowledge and judgment"? Will they satisfy themselves with materials at second hand, of which they are poorly qualified to estimate the value, when they might see and know for themselves, and declare the truth with the confidence and influence of personal examination and personal character? And will others be so easily satisfied? Others also, who are set apart and educated to be leaders of society, ought to know the truth in its original expression; in order that they may judge for themselves in an interest of the highest public and private concernment; and may well direct and assist in their sphere the multitude of their brethren; and may support and encourage

the worthy laborers, and discountenance unfounded pretensions. "Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom."

LECTURE III.

“THROUGH desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom.” The purpose and plan of a public education appears often to be not well understood, or not properly stated. It is an inadequate statement, to say merely, that it is a discipline of the mind, without respect to further advantage. It is just, as far as it goes; but, by stopping short, it waives the highest reasons. These studies, if duly pursued, do exercise the mind, and accustom it to think and reason, to attention and exertion. But they do not merely perform this office, and then lose all their value and influence. They adorn it not only in the short term of youth, but in all the progress of life; and they not only adorn it, they afford it substantial acquisitions in themselves considered, and real and eminent advan-

tages, in personal satisfaction, in social communication, in public utility, and in general respect. They are in themselves proper objects of attention and exertion. They form the mind, they furnish the mind, they enlarge the mind, they elevate the mind, they enlighten the mind, they replenish it with various knowledge, they supply it with various resources, they invigorate it with various powers, and may be turned to good account in various occupations. If knowledge is pleasant, then the more knowledge we possess, the more pleasure we may hope of this elevated description. If knowledge is power, then an increase of knowledge may be reasonably calculated as an increase of power. And if this advantage be not certain to every individual in the trials of life, it is continually asserted by discerning men in regard to the community; and the individual assists to raise and sustain the standard of general knowledge, and commonly partakes of the general advantage. The great advantage of diffusive knowledge to a community, and especially the necessity of it to a republican community, I trust, needs not in this place to be formally defended. "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge."

The design of a liberal education is not, or

•

ought not to be, limited to a single pursuit, or to a particular profession; or if any plan or project be so limited, it ought not to be called a liberal education, nor to receive the honors and seals of an Academical Institution. The proper and professed design is, to introduce the students into all the principal branches of knowledge; to open to them a view of the whole circle of learning; and, as time and means may admit, to give them some degree of initiation. The design is, to lay a good and wide foundation for the labors and improvements of subsequent life; and to afford a general preparation, as far as may be practicable, for any profession, or employment, to which one may be inclined, or directed, or constrained. A young man commonly knows not what part he may prefer, or what may be expedient, or what may be necessary, in the vicissitudes of time, in the struggles and competitions of the world, or in the progress and changes of his own mind. It has not unfrequently happened, that some have neglected certain studies, as unnecessary to their present character or future profession, and have finally chosen the very profession for which the neglected studies are an essential, and ought to be an indispensable, preparation. Or they may be misled by taste or distaste, by aversion

to some things or preference of others, without any fixed views, but those of present ease or gratification. But this is not a good habit for life, nor for youth, to yield without reserve or reason to ease or inclination. It is often the bane of the mind, and life, and hope. Duty is the only just and safe motive and rule of conduct. A sense of duty, and a submission, or rather a devotion to it, is that which forms the man of worth, and virtue, and honor, and, commonly, of success. This is the only ruling passion which will rule us with wisdom and discretion. Or rather, this is the principle which suppresses the misrule of the passions. It is a serious and bounden duty, not to neglect the price put into our hands to get wisdom and knowledge. I feel a reluctance to quoting the words of the Wise in all their severity, lest they should sound like too severe a reproach; but it is the severity of wisdom and benevolence. "Wherefore is there a price in the hand of a fool to get wisdom, seeing he hath no heart to it?"

But it is no reproach to a very young man to say, that he has not the knowledge, experience, and judgment, to look well into the future; nor even to know well his own mind; nor to determine his future employment, which may not depend on his will; nor to ascertain what may be most condu-

cive to his success and happiness ; nor to decide what he may feel to be his absolute duty. He evidently cannot judge so well at the beginning as at the end of the course which our institutions prescribe, when he shall have made some trial of his mind, and taken some views of various objects, and acquired some materials for forming a judgment ; and being ready to go forth, he begins to look abroad into the world, and perhaps has consulted friends, and obtained information and counsel, and may have some knowledge of his opportunities, and prospects, and duties. At all times, it is wisdom, as far as possible, to be prepared for all events, to be ready for all occasions, and in some measure "furnished for every good work." In the mean time, it is discretion to trust to those who have appointed our duties, and prescribed our studies ; who have knowledge, experience, and judgment ; and who can have no possible motive, in regard to the students, but the best interests of learning, of society, and of the individuals who are placed under their direction and supervision. I speak not of those who are immediately engaged in the work of instruction ; for the appointment, although it be a selection, seems to divest a man at once of all knowledge and ability ; to disqualify him for all counsel and

confidence, all instruction and information; and to leave him nothing but a mass of absurd prejudices and malevolent passions. I speak of those independent men who are placed in a very disinterested, though not unconcerned, position in respect to the students, and who regulate our affairs in their legislative capacity. This submission to authority is the more requisite, as the young and untried mind is often prone to ease, and pleasure, and amusement; naturally averse to labor, and trouble, and constraint, and even to instruction; necessarily void of experience and judgment to choose the best objects of pursuit; often most strongly inclined to those which are useless, or hurtful, or degrading; not unfrequently repugnant to those of the most real value and permanent utility; and sometimes repugnant to things and persons, for the very reasons for which they ought to be esteemed and followed. It requires no little discretion to perceive and "approve the things that are excellent"; no slight training and habit to find pleasure in labor, and gratification in pursuing and mastering objects of real worth, but of difficult attainment.

The considerations which have just been offered are those of prudence. But there are more liberal and generous reasons which have before been par-

tially presented. They are drawn from the very nature of the mind and its improvement. What is the mind? We believe there is some original, radical principle implanted, which we cannot define, nor investigate. But to all actual purposes, to all intents and purposes of action and of worth, the mind is what it becomes, what it is made, what it makes itself, under Providence, and instruction, by exercise, and improvement, or misimprovement. The seed is implanted; but the growth, and fruit, and beauty, or the corruption, decay, and death, are the results of cultivation or neglect. The actual, intellectual, and moral mind consists of the thoughts and purposes, the knowledge, sentiments, and principles, desires and passions, habits and powers, in short, the intellectual and moral character of the man. If there is any difference between a rude, ignorant, and lawless savage, and an accomplished scholar and sincere Christian, all this difference is an argument for filling the mind with knowledge and virtue. A man of worth and virtue is particularly called in Greek a diligent man, one who is in earnest, *σπουδαῖος*. This is a point of high duty. He who has the opportunity is under the obligation of improving and enlarging his mind to the utmost, for his own advantage or ability, and the

benefit and advancement of society. He who neglects his opportunities betrays his privileges, and degrades his mind from the rank of usefulness and honor which he ought to have filled. He who has it in his power to learn but one thing, and to pursue a single purpose, is to be approved for the faithful use of his one talent. But he who has several talents put into his hands, for the express purpose of occupying them, is not to be approved, if he use but one, and hide the rest, or throw them away.

Knowledge is the aliment of the mind, and enters into its substance, and forms its volume, and with proper exercise and discipline constitutes its strength; and in this nourishment there is little danger of excess or repletion. A scholar should have a taste of every thing that is good. He should have some acquaintance with all good knowledge, so far as it is attainable in his circumstances. Every accession is creditable to his character, and conducive to his satisfaction. A liberal and aspiring mind should be unwilling to be wholly ignorant of any thing which comes within the compass of a liberal education; or within the scope of his contemplation, in the studies of his closet, in the occupations of his life, or in the conversations of literary or informed society. There

is no single pursuit which may not be assisted and promoted by an acquaintance with other objects of knowledge. There are none but what may be narrowed and embarrassed by ignorance of others. Scarcely a book of any importance can be satisfactorily perused without reference to other authors and other subjects. Every condition of literary or professional life requires frequent and excursive consultation. The lawyer must be a mathematician, a navigator, and a theologian. The physician must know the affections of the mind as well as of the body. The divine has occasion for all the information that he can obtain and communicate. And he who makes a profession of literature in general, makes a very general profession. A scholar should be able to turn his views on every side, and exert himself in every direction, and draw resources from every quarter. And he will find a use for all, in his public services, or his private enjoyments. Every acquisition may be turned to some good purpose, by one who is intent to make the best improvement of his faculties and opportunities, and to employ them for his own best advantage, and for the benefit of mankind. The judgment of Cicero on this subject is well known and often repeated. "For all arts which pertain to learning (*humanitas*)

have a certain common bond, and are connected together by a certain relation." We know also the high praises which he bestowed upon it, in the midst of his forensic contention and public splendor. "Do you think, either that we should be supplied with what we may daily deliver, in so great a variety of things, unless we cultivated our minds with learning; or that our minds could endure so great contention, unless we refreshed them with the same learning?" And learning, in the vocabulary of Cicero, is a term of extensive comprehension. In life, one must commonly be engaged in a particular occupation; or he may choose to proceed in some particular study toward perfection; but, that his mind may obtain its full compass and development, he should unquestionably have a general introduction. If his sole view and desire be to practise a single art or profession, mechanically, we can only say, that this is not the true spirit of a scholar, nor consistent with any well-meditated plan of public education. It leaves him destitute of many resources, of which he will probably feel the want, and deprives him of many abundant and permanent sources of rational enjoyment. For, to cite another well-known and celebrated passage of the same orator, and the same oration: "These studies exercise youth,

cheer old age, adorn prosperity, afford a refuge and solace in adversity, gratify us at home, are no encumbrance abroad, entertain us in the night, journey with us in our travels, and attend us into rural retirement."

But if they are to be acquired, we should take them up in their due order, and follow them up in their just succession, and not fly impatiently to the end, and omit the beginning, which will probably never be recovered, nor recalled. With every good system, we should begin with the languages, and proceed in course to the sciences, and lay a good foundation, and build on that the structure of various and extensive reading, as time or leisure may allow. And that may be the time or the leisure of life.

There is another consideration of a personal and rather selfish nature, yet not without interest and a species of honor. A man of professed education may often meet with men of real education and of various knowledge; and he must be mortified, if he feel himself "a stranger in a strange land," when the conversation turns on some not uncommon topic of erudition, or of scientific information. A man of liberal and honorable feelings would wish to sustain his part in the entertainment and improvement of society;

or at least not to be wholly out of the secret and mystery; or exposed to betray his own secret, if his own ambition, or the application of others, should tempt him to break the silence of his wisdom, or the wisdom of his silence.

Besides, there is a narrowness of feeling and of judgment, when a person is limited to one or two parts of literature or science, either by neglect or predilection. He is apt to think and speak of others as not worth pursuing or possessing; to attach all importance to his own, and strive to depress others; and the very consciousness of his wants may prompt him to proclaim his own superiority, and their insignificance. The simple, old fable of the three artisans, in stone, wood, and leather, who proposed to fortify the town each in his own way, may afford a tolerable illustration. They all have their uses. Stone may be the best in most cases. But wood is much better than nothing; and is necessary for machinery and carriages. The wooden walls of Athens were renowned in their day. And the wooden walls of Old England are renowned at this day. And the wooden walls of America have their share of renown. The man of leather was probably meant to be the fool of the play, or the point of the parable. Yet leather fastened to the surface of a

bulwark of wood is a very good material of fortification. And it affords many other uses. It was the defence of the Greeks, when the Trojans broke their wall. And the sevenfold bull-hide shield of Ajax was their firmest bulwark in the absence of Achilles. They all have their uses, and their connections. And so have all the arts and sciences, and general literature and knowledge.

There is a further consideration, nearly allied to the last, and founded in vice, and that is envy. "The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy." Perhaps, in the present case, it might often be more properly called jealousy, or ambition. This is a sin which easily besets the mind that aspires to lettered fame. It is even the taint of noble and honorable spirits. And it affects also those who have no generous aspirations, who will not take the pains to seek the remedy, but still envy those whom they will not exert themselves to emulate. In its various aspects it is frequently visible, and infests society, and more in literary and public, than in common life. The reason is obvious. Those who study to cultivate their higher faculties take a natural pride in it, and look for esteem, and desire eminence and reputation and success, and are jealous of rivals and competition, and cannot well brook any superiority, but are

continually striving to excel, and, as the readiest and easiest way, to depress and humble others. The spontaneous, perhaps unconscious, efforts of this passion are sometimes amusing to the observer, and sometimes vexatious, and sometimes again they break out in malevolent passions and profligate calumnies. It is related to generous feeling, but it is an unworthy relation, and ought to be separated and rejected.

Now, what is the remedy? There are means of moral discipline, there are words of holy power, and there is a spirit which giveth life. The high principle of duty corrects, or suppresses and supersedes inferior motives. But we are speaking at present of literary discipline. We must rise above, or sink below, this vice. To sink below is degrading and debasing; and to rise above is difficult and arduous. To sink below is to renounce all improvement and character. But to rise above is to endeavor to attain the qualifications which we might be disposed to envy; not to attempt to depreciate them, nor to affect to despise them, nor to admit any feeling of enmity or animosity; and this endeavor, under good discipline, may amount to a generous emulation, and promises a happy success. The best way to rise above envy is to leave as little as possible to be

envied. Thus we may attain to a community of interests with the praiseworthy; a fellowship, a sympathy, with their minds, their sentiments, and their attainments. And, if they are still superior, we may admire in them the accomplishments which we esteem and desire for ourselves, and a sense of disparity may be moderated by a consciousness of participation. At least, one may enjoy the consciousness of having employed his exertions for good and noble purposes, and made some advances toward that degree for which he was formed and endowed.

This may be the way to cure ourselves; but how shall we cure others? That is not so much our concern, nor so much within our power. If every one cure himself, then all will be cured. If every one improve himself, then all will be improved. But how shall we prevent or repel the shafts of envy and malice? That ought not to be so much our concern, as that we may not deserve them, or rather, that we may deserve them. We may not be in so much danger as we apprehend. Let a man "not think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but think soberly"; in the inimitable words of the original, *ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*. Let him "bear his faculties meekly" and modestly. Pride is another

vice of learning, and nearly akin to the former, or the same in another guise, and not less to be deprecated and exorcised. The higher and wider the prospect attained, the farther the horizon spreads and recedes, and man most feels his own littleness in the midst of the boundless expanse. But let us hear the advice of Pindar: "Nevertheless, omit not honorable deeds; for envy is better than pity." And let us hear the praise which Demosthenes bestows on his countrymen, who humbled the Persians: "That they left a glory on their deeds superior to envy." But let us chiefly attend to the higher and deeper principle, which has repeatedly been stated, the great, commanding principle of duty; a profound and fervent sense of duty, engaging and impelling us to make the best use of our time, and talents, and advantages, and opportunities, for the improvement of our minds, for the benefit of society, for the satisfaction of anxious friends, and for the service of the Author of all, to whom we must give an account. This is the principle which, in active energy, will best excite and develop our faculties, and appropriate our advantages, and support our virtues, and correct our vices, and fortify or tranquillize us against those of others, and teach us to find pleasure in their success and

honor. And this is the principle which I should recommend as the first, and last, and constant principle of education.

Though I have mentioned emulation with some appearance of approbation, I cannot so warmly recommend it as the leading principle and main spring of education, even in its purest nature and most honorable character. In its fairest form, it comes in so questionable a shape, as to excite some serious misgivings and conscientious apprehensions. It is too readily associated with its baser relative, and is not easily separated from the obtrusive companion. Besides, it may not set up a standard high enough for our possible advancement; but is founded on a comparison, which in some circumstances may require only a moderate exertion. We should rather set before us an absolute and independent standard, like that which is so often styled an ideal perfection. We must raise our views higher than we shall probably attain, or we shall fall below the measure which we might really attain. We must take our aim higher than the point which we expect to reach, or the gravitation of the earth, and all that is about it, will sink the shaft below the mark. We should look to the mighty dead, or the honored living, who may be considered as examples, not

as rivals. Our exercises might then be performed as duties required, or honors conferred; not as the trials or triumphs of victory. But perhaps we are of necessity so constantly placed in comparison, that a higher pretension might be only a nominal distinction. Yet we would hope, that the spirit of competition may be modified and corrected by the superior power of absolute duty, worth, and virtue.

We would now draw an argument from virtue, from the relation which a liberal and enlarged education bears to the principles and practice of virtue. It is generally affirmed, that liberal and extensive study is highly promotive of correct and generous sentiments, of good and sound principles, of regular and orderly habits, and of just, good, and honorable conduct. This affirmation must be admitted in general terms, from the nature and reason of things, and from the effects on individuals, and on society at large, from the influence of the higher education spreading itself throughout all orders and degrees and portions of the community. But we are also constrained to admit, that there are mortifying and perplexing exceptions to the observation and the argument. Yet these objections are not to the study, but to the neglect or abuse of it, and the prevalence of

other desires and passions. They amount to the negative propositions, that not all who have the means before them do become learned, nor all who have the motives before them do become virtuous. Partial exceptions are not allowed in just reasoning to defeat a general rule, nor to refute a general observation. We must judge of the subject from its evident nature, and direct tendency, and prevalent effects. And on this ground I would maintain, that study and learning are highly favorable to order, to honor, to virtue, and, I would hope, to religion. I speak again of the diligent, not of the negligent, in trying to show the value and benefits of study and learning. The mind is occupied, and suitably occupied, on its proper objects, and not so liable to be assailed by the temptations of vice and vanity. It is occupied on worthy and elevated objects, and its desires are excited and directed toward them, and are not so prone to sink to those that are unworthy, and debasing, and disgraceful. It has a sense of character, and would wish to preserve it. It aspires to reputation, and would be unwilling to tarnish it. In its progress the soul is expanded, and its desires exalted, to contemplate all that is good for man and happy for society. And this effect is increased, when it goes abroad into the

world, and views mankind on a larger scale, and perceives the necessities and the interests of the public; a public in which its own duties are appointed, and its own interests are involved. We pretend not, that learning is a perfect catholicon, a universal and infallible "medicine of the soul"; we must look to a superior and more powerful remedy; but in its natural tendency and just application it is a useful and efficient instrument of superior direction and influence. We grant, that it may be perverted and misapplied; and so may every thing connected with human nature; but we proceed on the supposition of its just and wise direction and application. If it produce or permit some evils, yet the immense evils arising from ignorance the history of ages will abundantly testify. If it do not produce perfect men, as every day's experience may show, yet we commonly expect to find some regard to truth and rectitude, to honor and character, in men of liberal education; and he who abandons them is a recreant and a traitor to his peculiar privileges and obligations.

The several studies have their respective and their combined influence in forming and raising the moral character. Of the Moral Sciences this is the professed and direct object and endeavor,

to exhibit and inculcate moral principles and precepts; and if there be any power of moral discipline, or any possibility of moral influence, we should think they must leave some impression; and they are designed to make a deep, and permanent, and plastic impression.

Of the Natural Sciences the tendency is to form correct habits of thinking and reasoning; and the direct design is to explore the works and laws of nature and creation; and the suitable effect is to give a deep conviction of the perfection of their Author, the dignity of his laws, and the reality of his government.

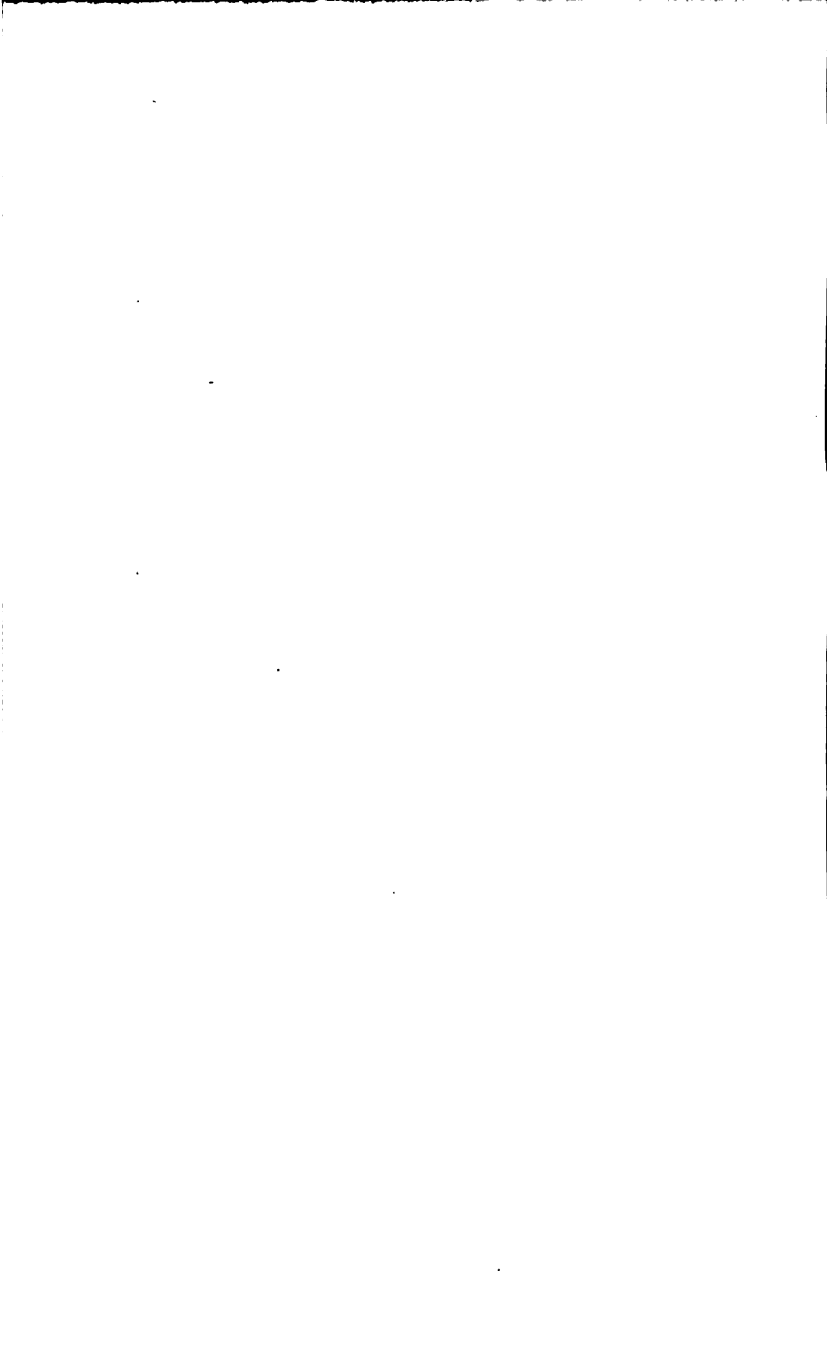
Of Literature, we know that it may be corrupted and corrupting. For the sake of virtue and honor, we should separate "the precious from the vile," and not class the latter under the respectable name of literature. Miscellaneous Literature is mostly conversant with human life and character, and is a most copious source of instruction and excitement, to good or to evil. I have often wondered how so much could be said of our little life, which is measured by a span. The Ancient Classics have been generally applauded, as presenting many fine and noble sentiments, great and dignified characters, as well as interesting information, and elegant and exqui-

site composition. If they also exhibit bad characters and actions, these are commonly attended, or followed, with honest and stern reprobation, and with histories of the most monitory instruction. They wrote not under the light that has come to us from above. But they often wrote, and lived, in a style, which may humble us under our superior light; and which should excite us to respond to our superior knowledge and obligations. And at the same time, they are highly important to show us the evidence of the truth, and the necessity to man, and "the unspeakable gift," of a Divine Revelation.

I intended to have spoken of the relation of our studies to the various professions and situations of educated men; and of some other studies connected with them in our Academical Institutions: of the Oriental Language and its peculiar structure; of its interest to the philological, and its importance to the theological scholar: and of the Studies of Nature, properly so called, of the formations, combinations, and productions of Nature, which might offer their utility and entertainment in all the walks of life. But I have spoken long enough on these general subjects.

I was led into this long discourse by the ques-

tion, What constitutes a Liberal education? And I was first led to this question by the concern of my own department, which appears to be most opposed, and considered of the least importance. Whereas, if there is any importance in the highest truth, and hope, and life, or any interest in the best writings, sacred and secular, this study is most highly important to the Scholar, the Christian, and the Gentleman of liberal education. I say, the Gentleman; for the epithet *liberal* in this connection originally and literally signifies that which is suitable to a Freeman and a Gentleman.



SELECTIONS

FROM

LECTURES ON GREEK LITERATURE.



H O M E R.

I. HOMERIC COMPOSITION.

THE time and place, the birth, life, and death, and the works, the name, and existence of Homer, and even the siege, and capture, and the existence of Troy, are all disputed, or called in question. I am not much inclined, nor prepared, to enter into the disputation. I would rather float easily down the current of antiquity, than labor in rowing against the stream. He lives in his works, his place is the literary world, and his time is all ages, from the production of his poems till their obliteration.

The siege of Troy is intimately connected with the history of Greece. It is often mentioned as an undoubted fact by the gravest historians. And Homer and his poems were subjects of continual study in the schools, of celebration in verse

and prose, of recitation in the public solemnities, and of reference and quotation in historical and philosophical compositions. His name and his theme are presented familiarly by the inquisitive and candid Herodotus, and by the exact and scrupulous Thucydides; and by the diligent and careful geographer Strabo he is habitually cited in name and in words as a principal authority. It would be endless to refer to all those who have referred to Homer, for his name and his verse are interwoven with the whole texture of Grecian literature. It appears incredible and inexplicable, that all this testimony and belief should be founded on sheer fabrication, more incredible than the most extravagant fables.

The Greeks, it is true, were in general credulous in matters of history, and fond of fables and amplification. They showed not the exact, rigorous, and sceptical spirit and method of modern criticism. But Aristotle, I should think, is exact, severe, and penetrating enough to satisfy a common reader, if not a critical inquirer. The ancients also had advantages of evidence, which are lost to us in the depths of time, the wreck of letters, and the revolutions of the world.

Yet there is some color of reason for doubt, or question, in the obscurity which rests on the time

and place of the author, in the circumstances of the production, and in the manner of the tradition, or transmission. The principal critics with whom I am acquainted, who have expressed and urged these doubts and questions, are Heyne and Wolf, names of great character and authority. I presume not to set myself in direct opposition to these heroes of learning; but I cannot yet confess myself conquered nor satisfied. The principal objections may be stated, briefly, as I gather them.

It is not settled where Homer was born, nor where he lived, nor when he lived, nor who he was, nor what he did, excepting that here are two great poems, which in very early times were called by his name, and celebrated as works of the highest genius. There were other works ascribed to him, but they are now, and were then, generally rejected. I think they are not now extant, except a few hymns to the deities, which bear his name, and are often published with his works, and a few other small pieces. It is doubted whether writing, or the alphabet, were in use at that time, and even questioned whether it were known. The letters of Cadmus are disputed by Wolf, though named by Herodotus. I humbly think, that tradition and history afford sufficient evidence in their favor. But on the other side, we must ad-

mit that the use of them could hardly be very common. The materials were not very tractable, nor very portable, stone, brass, and wood. There is some mention of lead; and, if it were as common then as it has been since, in the book trade, there is an end of the question.* Leaves also are mentioned, but they seem hardly adapted to receive or preserve a poem longer than the prophecies of the Sibyl. Bark might be used, and the word *liber* denotes it, but it could not be of convenient and durable use. The leaves of the Indian palm are used at this day; but I suppose were not known in those regions. We read of linen books in Livy; but I think not in Greece. Skins were in early use, insomuch that, when the Ionians obtained the Egyptian *byblos*, papyrus, paper, they continued to call their writings *diphtheræ*, skins, according to Herodotus.† Therefore Egyptian paper was in use in the time of Herodotus, and probably much earlier, as the Ionians were a commercial people; and, by a plain inference, the skins or *diphtheræ* much earlier still. I see no natural or historical reason, why they

* Pausanias, IX. 31, states that the Boeotians near Helicon showed him the *Ἔργα* of Hesiod, inscribed on lead, but nearly obliterated by time.

† Herod. 5. 58.

might not be used as early as the time of Homer, or of Troy. In the sixth book of the Iliad Bellerophontes carries mortal letters, or signs, from Prætus to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, consigning the bearer to death. These *σήματα*, it is said, may have been merely signs, understood between the conscious parties. They were sent in folded or doubled tablets, and doubtless sealed; which was the manner of sending letters long after this time. If they were of the invention of the poet, they show at least a practice known in his time. But it seems best to consider them as signs, or symbols, so designed, that, if the bearer should suspect his charge, and violate the seal, he might not obtain the information. These tablets, we are told, had a thin covering of wax to receive the writing. Parchment, Pergamenum, was only an improved preparation of skins, used at Pergamus when the kings of that place undertook to emulate the kings of Egypt in collecting a library.

However, whether letters were in use or not, it is generally agreed and conceded that the poems of Homer were preserved and transmitted by the rhapsodists, whose study and profession it was to learn and recite the verses of Homer and other poets, with musical cadence and grace, with prop-

er expression, action, and decoration, in public and private festivals and assemblies. This was at first a respectable profession, and in great esteem with the chiefs and the people, to whom it afforded a high and inspiring entertainment. The practised memory was very tenacious, and the people were accustomed to hear, to feel, and to remember. This method was more agreeable than reading, when writing became common. For still books were rare, and speaking with skill and power had then, and has now, a superior advantage.

It is said, that Lycurgus brought the poems of Homer from Asia to Lacedæmon for the instruction and improvement of his people. It is even said, that he brought a copy of them from Creophylus, the friend of Homer, or from his family. They must have been recent at that time. If this account be true, it is probable enough that he brought persons to recite them from memory, as he is said to have brought Thales, a poet, from Crete, for the same purpose, to instruct and enlighten the people. But the great collection and edition of them, as it is asserted and acknowledged on all sides, was made about three hundred years after, at Athens, by the authority of Pisistratus and his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, especially the latter. They were known before, and

recited in separate rhapsodies, or distinct portions; and Solon is said to have ordered some time before, that they should not be recited promiscuously and in confusion, but in due order and succession, so as to make a regular series. But the family of Pisistratus are related to have collected all, that they could obtain from all the rhapsodists, and others, who knew any of the verses, by paying a price for every verse; and then to have employed qualified persons to arrange them in due order, and compose them into a regular body. Among these the name of Onomacritus is most conspicuous. But he was afterwards banished for interpolating Musæus. It would appear from this account, that there were not previously regular, authentic copies of these works; and even that the parts were obtained from memory, rather than from writing. There were several subsequent recensions of them, particularly that of Aristotle, which Alexander kept in a most precious casket of the spoils of Persia; and that of Aristarchus, a master critic of Alexandria, whose recension is believed to be essentially the basis of our printed editions. The name of Aristarchus has become a common name for severe criticism.

Now, from the manner in which these poems were produced, and handed down, and dispersed,

and collected, doubts and questions have arisen concerning their origination, which have sometimes amounted almost to conclusions. It is argued, that these different parts, or rhapsodies, might be different poems, relating to the same general subject, and brought together and artificially connected in one body by the collector and his assistants. It is observed, that the different rhapsodies have different subjects, and anciently had different names, which were used in citation, and are still preserved at the head of the several books. Now one topic prevails, and then another; now one hero is distinguished, and then another; and each hero has his separate distinction. Here let it be observed, that the ancient distinction by rhapsodies, or titles, is not thought to be the same with the present division by books, according to the number and names of the letters of the alphabet. This last division is supposed to have been made by Aristarchus. In the former division, the first title is, The Pestilence and the Wrath of Achilles (Λοιμὸς καὶ Μῆνις); the second is, The Dream and the Catalogue (Ὀνειρος καὶ Κατάλογος), and so on through the whole. Let it also be observed, that the word *rhapsody* does not appear to signify the sowing together of different books; for then the whole would be one rhapsody.

dy; but now the different parts are so many rhapsodies. But *ῥάπτειν ᾠδὰς* rather signifies to compose verses and odes; and the poet is the first *ῥαψωδός*, and those who repeat his verses are so named by derivation. Thus Pindar speaks of the Homeridæ, the singers of rapt words, *ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοί*.* These Homeridæ are sometimes supposed to be the descendants of Homer, who retained and sang his verses; and it is added, that the name was transferred to others, who followed their example. It appears even to be intimated of late, that they, or others like them, might be the authors of the Homeric verses.

Thus it is supposed possible, that the several parts of the poems may have been the works of several authors, whose names are lost in the obscurity of time; that the name of Homer, for some cause, known or unknown, may have been attached to that species or that body of verse, and that no such person ever existed in reality, as is commonly believed. Or, admitting his personality and principal authorship, it is thought not improbable, that parts may have been admitted, which were composed by other authors. Thus the tenth book and the twenty-fourth of the Il-

* Nemea, II. 1.

iad, they conjecture to have been added, without good cause or reason; and even the last six books are marked as not of similar character to the preceding. The like remarks are made on the *Odyssey*. But further, admitting him to have been the original author of the whole body; yet, they say, that being divided and transmitted through so many minds and memories, it must have been subject to many variations; and even the spirit and ambition of the reciters, who were often poets, may have prompted them to attempt many alterations and additions. It is written by some of the later scholiasts, that when Pisistratus advertised through all Greece for Homer's verses, some persons made or added verses of their own, that they might sell them for Homer's; and that Pisistratus paid for all that came, even for those which were mere repetitions of such as he had before received. I suppose that he and his assistants must have exercised their best judgment, and obtained all the information that they could, for constituting the text. Yet the ancient critics acknowledged interpolations. Aristotle probably gave them a close castigation: and it is said, that Aristarchus gave a severe correction, excluding what he deemed evidently spurious, and marking with an *obelos* what appeared doubtful, or un-

worthy of the author or his style. There are quotations in ancient authors which are not found at the present day in manuscripts. Barnes has inserted some of them in his edition. But there are multitudes of quotations in the ancients, which essentially agree with our readings. Variations may be supposed to take place in so long and various a course of time and the world. There are a great number of various readings in the edition of Heyne. But the main body of the work appears to be substantially the same.

Concerning the personality of Homer, the production of the works, and the circumstances of their transmission and collection, the objections or questions appear to have more weight and importance assigned to them, than I feel myself willing to allow them. The first, and natural, and the rational presumption, as I think, is in favor of the traditional history and belief. It was very generally credited from the earliest times of which we have any notice; when men were in a much better situation to know and to judge, if they were not so acute as men at present, to doubt and distinguish. They were credulous, it is true, and fond of imagination. But there was some history, some fact, some truth; and it is reasonable to believe on credible evidence, where we

cannot obtain absolute demonstration. This is the foundation of history, of faith, of most of the duty and business of life, and of the hopes of futurity. They had not the critical acumen which now is exercised, nor the means of publication which now abound. But the name of Homer was of high and undoubted authority, and his works were in great esteem and renown. He was celebrated by the earliest authors after him that remain, and by all other authors in continual succession; and his works to this day receive praise from those who are acquainted with them, and some others, similar to that which they received from their origin, even from those who discredit their originality, or rather their authenticity. Here, then, we stand on the ground of credible history, and this I hold as the vantage-ground. The objections are of the nature of suppositions and possibilities, and ought not to be admitted to overthrow credible and probable evidence. It is possible that Homer was merely a name, but it is not therefore probable. It is possible that the works which bear his name were collections or contributions; but it is not probable in any great degree. It is possible that they have received variations and interpolations, and that is probable; but not, I should think, to the degree which is

suggested. I like the obelisk of Aristarchus better than his expunction. Let us have the whole, with the judgment of good critics; but let us also judge for ourselves. It is believed that he added nothing, and that he struck out only what he was convinced that others had added; but marked many more lines, to show his doubts or his judgment.

Let it not be thought incredible, that these long poems should be accurately retained in memory. They were recited in parts, and in succession, by several persons; and, if they retained the whole, it would be nothing incredible in those who made it the study and profession of their lives. When there were few or no books, the memory was greatly exercised; and this was the general method of education and instruction. Private gentlemen of education were said to have had the whole Iliad and Odyssey in memory. A story is told of Demosthenes, by some of the scholiasts or commentators, which I hardly believe, though it is not at all incredible: that the history of Thucydides was once lost by some accident, and that he, through his much study and copying of it, restored the whole from his memory.

Nor am I convinced that writing was unknown, or unused, in those days. The colony to which

Homer belonged went from Thessaly and Bœotia, Æolians; or from Athens and the vicinity, Ionians. I am inclined to think the former; and they probably carried with them no little schooling, in poetry, music, and letters. Besides, the finish, and polish, and artificial form, which the language had attained at this early period, not only evinces cultivation, but seems to me to have required a notation, by which it should be expressed to the eye as well as to the ear. It appears not incredible to me, that the poet should compose his verses in his mind, and retain them in his memory; not more so, than that others should learn and retain them. But doubtless the notation of letters would be a great relief and assistance in so large works. I cannot reconcile the arguments of Wolf: first, that writing was not used, and was not necessary, because the memory was sufficient; but secondly, that so large works could not have been produced by one man without writing.

Nor do I see much force or justice in the objection to the whole, that it consists of many distinct parts, which appear to have been composed separately, without any general and connected design. I think it rather a proof of skill, an excellence, and a beauty, that the parts are so distin-

guished, and set in order; that every topic has its place, and every hero his time and his honor; that it is not all one mixed mass of undistinguished confusion. There is a manifest connection through the whole, and an end constantly pursued: nor do I believe that this order, and connection, and uniformity could have been obtained by the junction of separate poems of different authors, nor even of the same author, without some previous design, which regulated all his meditations.

But the most marvellous piece of criticism to me is, that the *Iliad* properly ends with the eighteenth book, for there the end is effected of bringing out Achilles, and that all the rest is superfluous, and probably suppositious. As if the whole end and object of all this contention, and struggle, and turmoil, were only to drag Achilles out of his tent, just to show himself, and make a great shout, and do nothing else. If, indeed, that shout had prostrated the Trojans and Hector, as easily as it frightened them, that indeed would have been a marvellous catastrophe; more so than all his terrible battles and final victory. But it seems the poet did not think of that, nor even the critics, so far as I know.

Nor am I satisfied with another criticism, which

is brought as an argument against the integrity and authorship of the poem. There are said to be episodes, and other redundant passages, which do not promote, but rather impede, the progress of the work; and are not necessarily, nor judiciously, connected with the subject. The tenth book is particularly instanced, which contains a nocturnal excursion of Diomedes and Ulysses to spy out the camp of the enemy, and learn their designs: which is very natural in war, and very suitable to this occasion. And if, after catching a counter-spy, and examining him, they went on and slew their sleeping enemies, instead of spying them, and brought off a fine span of horses, all that is not unnatural to ancient warriors. It is admitted that there may be interpolations. But in this book, I should rather suspect, there may be a considerable obliteration. In the discoveries of Dolon, the Trojan spy, there is no direct answer to the most important demand and object of Ulysses, to know whether the enemy intended to retire or renew the combat. But he informs them of the sleeping Thracians, and their king Rhesus, and his fine armor and horses. And they, without further inquiry, go on directly, and kill, and spoil, and retreat. I am apt to think that they must have been first satisfied on their first

and main object; and that Homer must have satisfied them. However, Horace says that even Homer sometimes sleeps; and it is not strange that he should sleep in the night, after fighting and disputing through the day. But Longinus adds, that his dreams are in truth the dreams of Jove. If it be the whole plan and purpose of an epic poem to take the shortest cut to tell a plain story, the whole story of the Iliad may be told in a few words. Achilles is mad at Agamemnon for taking away his prize; so mad, that he will not fight, but shuts himself up in his tent. When the enemy comes too near to his retreat, he sends out his friend to fight for him, who is slain. On that he is so much more enraged, that he runs out, and fights like a madman till he has killed the principal foe who had slain his friend. And there is an end of the story. And even that is longer than the critics would have it. But an epic poem is not so slender and meagre a thing. The poet has his object, his end, and plan, but he does not intend to drive through it like a courier, and think of nothing but the end of his race. He takes a principal action of suitable and sufficient importance; and attended in fact, or invention, with a sufficient number and variety of circumstances, incidents, and charac-

ters, which he intends to fill up and adorn, with dignity and splendor and beauty and grace, with power and impression and effect, with all that is better understood by reading or hearing the poem itself, than by any critical observations. He gives himself up to his subject and his meditations, and produces what his genius conceives, and his judgment approves, and his skill directs and disposes. His study is to enrich his work without overcharging, and to expand it without dissipation. Homer did not work by the rules of Aristotle; but Aristotle drew his rules from the works of Homer. His genius was his law; and if others do not succeed so well, it is perhaps because the law is their genius. An epic in its nature admits and requires a greater extent and variety than a tragedy. The latter presses more closely and rigidly to its end. But a tragedy must not be barren of incident and conjuncture. If it is so, it will be barren of interest and praise. It must be expanded to levity or condensed to heaviness. Good sentiments are proper to a good work, but they overload it if they are too closely crowded, especially in a work of entertainment.

In fine, I cannot agree with the modern criticisms of Homer, perhaps for want of sufficient knowledge and judgment. They extol the poetry,

but disparage the composition. They make it the work of the highest genius, yet the patchwork of several obscure or unknown geniuses. They say that the joints and seams are rough and evident. But, so far as I can perceive or judge, it appears very regularly connected. Nor, on the other hand, can I conspire with the extravagance of the older economists, who make it a work of almost absolute perfection, the substance of all knowledge, and invention, and art, and science. I am pleased rather, that it is not a work of art and science; but a display of the force and color of nature, and a vivid picture of an interesting period of antiquity. We have other and better works of art and science; and other pictures of other times, but I think few other so living pictures, of merely human composition. There is too much of war and battle in it for my principles and inclination. But it was made for those who delighted in war, and in the prowess and fame of their nation. I can take what pleases me, and excuse human failures, and yield to others that which better pleases their taste. Yet I would know all, and read the whole in connection.

To my mind, this evident connection, and the elevation and grace of the language, and the uni-

formity in variety, and the sublimity and beauty of the descriptions, and the nobleness and pathos of the sentiments, and the just and distinctive delineations of character, and the aptness of the expressions and the actions to the various occasions, and many other traits which might be exhibited, added to the probable and credible evidence of history before stated, all together afford sufficient satisfaction that each poem is essentially one work, and both are the works of one man, and of a superior man, and that man was Homer. I rest satisfied on the moral evidence of the greater probability and the stronger reason. I hold this as firm and tenable ground; and though it may be assailed by doubts and questions and objections, I trust it may be defended. And it certainly gives to the works a higher interest, and to the reader a deeper satisfaction.

There appears to be much of the Athenian spirit prevailing in these days. "For all the Athenians," says Luke, "and the strangers that were there, spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." And we have heard the stern question of Demosthenes: "Tell me, will you go about here in the forum inquiring, Is any thing new reported?" This is not an evil spirit, when it is justly regulated and wisely

moderated. It may be a spirit of improvement. But it may become a spirit of evil and of danger, when it proceeds to neglect and disparage all that is old, and good, and sound, and established, and for the very reason for which it ought to be respected; when it sacrifices reason, and experience, and truth, to vain curiosity, restless ambition, and insatiate thirst for novelty.

But there is a deeper spirit abroad, and more dangerous, if it be not well guarded and governed; and that is a propensity to attach more weight and importance to objections and exceptions, than to reasons and arguments. An article of belief or opinion is supported by good and sufficient reasons and evidences. But if objections and difficulties can be found, they appear to be sometimes considered sufficient to overthrow the stronger reasons and evidences. The objections may be so strong that they ought to produce this effect; but the effect appears sometimes increased by the habit and impulse of the mind. We would not sit down idle in an undiscerning credulity; nor would we with equal idleness relinquish every position that may be disputed. In this way we should soon be driven from the whole ground of faith, truth, and right.

The spirit of disputing, and correcting com-

mon opinions, appears to be the tendency and habit, I had almost said the disease and danger, of inquisitive, and even learned minds. Perhaps it may be said, that the danger is in defect, rather than in excess; that a little learning is the dangerous thing; and that an increase and aggravation of the disease would be the most effectual remedy. That may be partially true, and might be shown in some signal instances. But it is not a catholicon, it is not a patent medicine, universal and infallible. There have been very learned men very much prone to scepticism and infidelity. A better remedy appears to be, a nice adjustment of the balance of the mind, making the arms of the balance equal, and the scales in equipoise, and placing the arguments and the objections in comparison, to ascertain which will preponderate. But in plain truth, how is this balance to be obtained? The answer is not easy, nor is the attainment. It is a matter of moral and intellectual discipline. It is a habit of the mind to be formed by a correct purpose of heart, by an unbiased love of truth, and by an attentive and candid consideration. If the question reached only to classical and secular history and literature, this might be left as debatable ground, where the antagonists might meet, and try their

strength ; and there are few more doughty combatants than critics, nor who throw harder words at one another. In the mean time, we may read and enjoy the works, while they dispute about the authors, or the words. Yet, in spite of their manifest excellence, I apprehend it would abate something of our esteem and relish for them, if we believed with Father Hardouin, that they were only the dreams of lazy monks, dozing in their gloomy cells, in the ages of dark and dismal night.

But the question is extended further, to objects of much higher import than the present. It is applied to the sacred history and truth. In the same spirit and method, in the same book and argument, and in parallel lines, Moses and the prophets are placed on the same footing with Homer and the poets. But I am far from thinking that they stand on the same foundation, or that they must stand or fall together. We have a surer and higher testimony. It is founded on the Rock of Ages. This is the stone which the builders rejected. "And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder."

HOMER.

II. THE ILIAD.

CONCERNING the Iliad a question is moved, what is its proper subject, and object, and title. It is said, that the name Iliad is not original; and that, as Achilles is the hero, it ought to be called the Achilleïd, as the other poem is named from the hero, Odyssey. It is also said, that the poem has a precise or principal moral object, to show the Greeks the evils of discord, and to exhort them to union and agreement. This is a good end. But I am inclined to think, that the first object of the poet was to make an epic poem, on a subject of great fame and interest, which took place in his vicinity; and that the poem was not so much made for the sake of Achilles, as Achilles was made for the sake of the poem. Accordingly,

I look on the whole work as almost entirely a work of invention. The foundation, I suppose, was a matter of fact. All ancient history appears to confirm it. It was an event of importance, or, as Aristotle speaks, it was an action of magnitude. The principal names of persons, I presume, and probably their characters, were historical or traditional. The principal names of places were settled points in later geography, and are confirmed by modern and local examination. But all the rest, the interventions and actions and speeches of the gods, and the speeches and particular actions of the heroes, which make up the great body of the work, must necessarily have been creations of the poet's imagination. The siege and fall of Troy are the simple facts; though the poem does not reach the fall, but only implies it as a necessary consequence. The grave Thucydides speaks of the event as a point of history, without any doubt or question; and he even admits the number of the besiegers, above one hundred thousand, as not overrated. But the wrath of Achilles, I think, enters into the superstructure, rather than into the foundation. Probably there was some tradition of his valor, and possibly something of his wrath. But I think all the workings of his frenzy rolled in the eye of the

poet's mind. It is impossible to find the line of separation or of coherence between the real and the imaginary ; and therefore it is most expedient to consider the whole generally as a work of art and imagination.

And it is a wonderful work of art ; and the wonder consists not only in the structure, but in the time and period of the production. We have supposed and said, that there were many poets prior to Homer, from whose example his style might be formed, though improved by himself. But as far as I recollect the notices of their works, they were hymns to the gods, and on the works of creation and nature, on the rites of religion, and the duties of virtue, and the precepts of wisdom. Whenever Orpheus is introduced in poetical fiction, he is represented as singing hymns on the origin of things and the divine nature. There is an obscure notice, that Linus composed a poem on the actions and travels of Dionysus ; but besides that it is questionable, this very notice indicates that it was composed in the manner of historical narration, and succession of events. Of the epic form, of a combination of actions and incidents constituting one complex and connected action, one whole, as the great critic calls it, and all tending to one great end and

event, I think there is no evidence or probability that Homer had any previous rule or example; but rather, that he made his own rule, and his own example; or his example first, and thence a rule for others, by his own art, or rather by his own nature. This observation is the more remarkable, as those who came after him, and nearest his time, whose works are lost, though numerous, appear to have followed the common historical course of composition. But he has stood alone, as a model to future times, and has been followed by a few, but never, I think, has been equalled in the construction of the poem, nor hardly in the execution, the expression, and the decoration. And yet this has been called a piece of patchwork, made up of all sorts of patterns and scraps, stuck together by eager collectors! Aristotle was of another mind. We read it in his *Poetica*. After censuring those who made the *Heracleïd* and the *Theseïd*, and such like historical poems, as erring, or mistaking their end and rule, he says: "But Homer, as he excels in other things, so in this he appears to have seen well, either by art or by nature; and has composed the *Odyssey*, as likewise the *Iliad*, on one action: and though each poem has many parts, each of which has magnitude in itself, and may be the subject of a distinct tragedy, yet

these poems are composed in the best manner possible, and are, as much as possible, the imitation of one action."

But I must beg leave to dissent a little from the master critic, and agree with Wolf, in one point. If an author is pleased to compose an historical poem, as the *Life of Hercules*, or *Theseus*, in the order of time and events, there can be no reasonable objection. And if it be a good work, I can read it with pleasure, and without a sense of any great transgression, on my part, or that of the author. But then I agree again with the master, that the simple historical is not justly entitled to the name of the artful epic, according to the definition which Homer has given in his works, and which Aristotle has drawn out of them in his criticism. For the rule was drawn from the example, which proved its own justness. Each work should stand on its own foundation, and bear its own inscription. But the well-wrought epic is confessedly in its form much the superior work, in art, in grace, in dignity, in power, in interest, and in effect on the mind of taste and judgment. Yet, if a narrative poem be well conducted through important events to an important conclusion, I see not why we should not be satisfied.

Much as the works and rules of Grecian art

are admired, as in poetry and architecture, I see no reason why it should be impossible to deviate from them, without a wide aberration from truth and propriety. To be sure, when we have standards of evident and approved excellence, it may be unsafe rashly and vainly to depart from them, and wander in untried ways, lest we should fall into absurdity and extravagance. Judgment should be used in all things. But if there is a peculiar grace or grandeur in the Grecian temple, there is also a peculiar grace or grandeur in the temple which is called Gothic, or Saracen, or perhaps, more properly, of the Middle Ages of Europe. So we may say of poetry; and so Schlegel says of tragedy; and so I thought, before I saw Schlegel. There is no insuperable objection to a just and agreeable variety; nor any irresistible reason for a beautiful, but monotonous uniformity.

We must return from our exceptions to our direct subject. The common title appears well adapted; to which we add, as usual, an explanatory title, "The Iliad, or the Siege of Troy." The occasion was important. It was not merely to reclaim a false woman, but to punish a shocking violation of the laws of justice, honor, and hospitality, that the chiefs of Greece, and the thousand ships, and the hundred thousand men, were

assembled and embattled. They first sent an embassy to demand justice, as appears in the poem, and that being refused by the influence of the offender and his partisans, they proceeded to exact it by force of arms. The city being strongly fortified and valiantly defended, and they being ignorant of the art of besieging, the war was long protracted; during which time they subdued the circumjacent and connected cities. For it appears, that all Asia made it a common cause against the European invaders. It was said, that even Memnon came from Susa, beyond Babylon, being a relation; and it was further said, that there was a species of imperial sovereignty of the Oriental kingdom over the countries of the lower Asia, which was afterwards asserted by the Persians as a right or power of very ancient establishment. If we admire at the pertinacity of the Greeks, we may more admire at the obstinacy, if we may not call it the magnanimity, of the Trojans, who were waging a war of extermination in defence of a person and a cause, which the better, if not the greater, part of them abhorred, as much as the injured enemy. But it appears, that he had a strong and violent party, who overawed or overpowered the rest; and Hector says to him, "The Trojans are very timid, or you would before

this have worn a coat of stone." And in this case, if the Greeks would attack, the Trojans must defend themselves.

The poet has chosen his time near the conclusion of the siege, and his action is that which brings on the conclusion. But he has managed to introduce in convenient places all the previous events that we could desire, so that we feel no want nor wish to be carried regularly and slowly through the long siege from the beginning to the end. He has compressed the time to a few days, and these he has filled with thought, and action, and energy, and life, and death. He has created, or constituted, a principal hero, on whom the poem turns, in whom the action and interest are concentrated. Probably he received him from traditional story and character. But he has given to all the other heroes their proper place, and character, and honor. The hero in chief is the greatest, but not the best, of all the heroes. And that is right. It is agreeable to a rule of art, or the rule of art was drawn from such examples, that the hero should not be the best nor the worst of men, but a person of dignity and importance, who has fallen into some great error, or adversity, or perplexity.

The histories of the world are composed of

wars, contentions, and calamities, not of order peace, and prosperity; for these are related in a few words. The consequences, the perils, the trials, and the victory would not have so naturally followed from such a person as Ajax, a mighty, but moderate and honorable man; *ἐμεικτός*, *moderate*, as the Greeks designate an honest, good, and right honorable man. When this man had Hector supine, disabled, and astounded before him, he let him depart, exchanging with him tokens of generous civility. His only pride was to say to the interposing herald, "Let Hector speak first, for he sought the combat." And this is right in its place. For had he been like Achilles, a single touch of his lance would have cut the work short almost in the beginning. But he who made him had a right to use him as he thought best; and he has used him in a manner most in character with the person, and most conducive to the plan of the author. But the strenuous, and fierce, and wrathful, and inexorable spirit of Achilles protracted the toil and the terror to the proper period; and then the same violent spirit, roused by a stronger passion, brought it to a proper conclusion.

Yet he had justice on his side, but his revenge was excessive. His cause was like that for which the Greeks were contending, and perhaps more

outrageous. It was a wound deeply inflicted on his honor, and his right, by the insolence and selfishness of a king to whom he was giving, as he says, his unprovoked, unindebted, and unrequited service. In regard to the particular privation, he shows himself rather an ungallant hero. He says, "I will not fight for a woman. But if Agamemnon touch any thing else of mine, his blood shall flow on my spear." He had studied philosophy and medicine with Chiron. But all the medicine or all the philosophy of Chiron could not heal his wounded honor.

The king of gods and men assumed his cause, on the solicitation of his mother, and determined to render him a signal retribution. Thence the king of men was impelled to tempt the war; and though his chiefs and his hosts were superior in their own might, after many and mortal struggles they were driven to their walls and their ships, in dismay and consternation, by the Thunderer himself and the weapons of his power. The assistant deities are driven from the field by their sovereign. The king of men is driven to the deepest humiliation, and the most unlimited concessions and submissions. The proud, unrelenting warrior rejects the supplication with disdain, and his reply to the ambassadors shows him as great and vehement in

eloquence as in arms. The war is renewed, the chiefs are wounded, the hosts retreat, the wall is attacked, the gates are burst, the enemy is in the camp, and all seems lost, when the slow but sure Ajax again dashes Hector to the ground. He is carried senseless from the camp, and his hosts are expelled. But by the will of Jove his strength is restored, his success is renewed, the camp is again stormed, even Ajax is exhausted, the hostile flame is kindled, and ruin impends. In this extremity, Patroclus obtains permission to go forth with the Myrmidons, and in the armor of his chief; with the charge to expel, but not to pursue, the enemy. Elated with success, he neglects his charge, and pursues, and falls by the wound of Euphorbus, and the stroke of Hector; who arrays himself in the fatal armor of the dread warrior and of his fallen friend. Now grief and rage call forth the conqueror. He receives Vulcanian armor, he rages through the field, he destroys and drives all before him, the gods are engaged in the battle, the Trojans fly to their fortress, and Hector remains alone. He flies at first, but finally stands, and falls, and with him fell the fate of Troy. The vengeance of the victor on a noble and fallen foe is not honorable to himself, but is consonant to his character, fierce, proud, and vindictive.

Here, it is said, the poem should have ended, for this is the catastrophe; that all the rest is superfluous, and is probably imposed on the author by other hands, especially the last book of the Iliad. I humbly think otherwise. It was proper that he who was extreme in all his passions should pay to his slain friend the most splendid funeral honors, and it was considered as a duty of great obligation. And in the last book, an aged and afflicted father, the survivor of most of his offspring, slain in his defence, going without a preparation into the camp of an embittered enemy, to buy or beg of a furious victor the body of his noblest son, the fallen prop of his distressed age, of his ruined house, and of his devoted city and people, is the most affecting possible conclusion of the whole tragedy. It melted even Achilles.

I cannot agree with the modern criticisms which I meet. It seems to be thought that an epic or a tragedy is like a mine worked under a tower, which must burst in a sudden explosion, and blow us up in a moment, to fall at once in black death and desolation. Happily, the ancients had no gunpowder plots, for gunpowder was not yet invented. When they have wrought us up to the highest pitch and brought out the catastrophe, they draw out a brief conclusion, and lower us gradually to

the temperature of deep and serious feeling; though they sometimes cool us as glass is cooled in a furnace.

The rapid sketch which has been drawn is of course filled up in the poem with actions, and events, and changes, and characters, and descriptions, and sentiments, which cannot be particularly described, without making a work much longer than the *Iliad*. They are such as the poet saw proper to be represented, and I see no cause to dispute, but much to admire, his genius and his judgment.

In the just and consistent delineation of characters, he is not excelled by Shakspeare; and that is praise enough for Shakspeare and for Homer. Every personage remains the same, and distinct from others. All the speeches and actions are in character; and in the changes of circumstances and measures the essential person remains unchanged; or if he changes, it is because he is given to change. Agamemnon is thus variable. He is haughty and selfish; yet he appears born to command, and is the friend of the people. He could well array and direct a host to battle, and perform his part in the encounter; for after the first onset all was personal combat. Yet he was variable and irresolute, subject to impulses

of rashness and despondence, alternately imperious and submissive.

But Diomede is ardent and valiant, keen and persisting, losing no advantage by weakness and remissness, yet showing a modest magnanimity. When Agamemnon first urged him to battle by rather an ungallant chiding, he made no reply, preserving a respect to the king, and he silenced his irritated friend Sthenelus. But, when in the ninth book the king in despair proposed to fly and leave the siege, then showed his feeling: "You have reproached me with cowardice; but now who is the coward? You may fly, and all the rest of the Greeks; but I, and my friend, and my soldiers will stay, till we see the end of Troy." His speeches are short, but forcible; direct and strong to the purpose, and to a greater and more ardent purpose than others. Ajax is equal to any thing but running and talking, ready to every service, sufficient for every trial; yet not forward to advance, and still slower to retreat. When the rest were driven, he was the man to stop the foe, to stand in the breach, to meet Hector, and put him out of the combat. And when he had done this, he would let him depart in peace. The art and prudence and wisdom and eloquence of Ulysses are proverbial. But he was equally firm and de-

terminated in his purpose with Diomedes. His valor was a prudent and patient firmness and perseverance. His prudence was shown in the station of his ships and tents, in the middle of the fleet and army; while Achilles and Ajax were stationed at the two extremes, trusting in their strength. Menelaus was brave, but rather a moderate and secondary character. Yet he not only met and vanquished Paris, but he rose first to meet the challenge of Hector, when the others, though ashamed to deny, were afraid to accept. His brother upbraided him for sparing the Trojans who had abused him. It is a wonder, that he should have been chosen from all the flower of Grecian youth to be the spouse of Helen, unless he were a very handsome man, or the beauty preferred a meek and gentle husband. But he was of the powerful house of Pelops, and brother of the king of Mycenæ. The sweet-voiced, honey-tongued Nestor and his old stories make the most agreeable and respectable personage. It is pleasant to read the long, winding stories of old times, which are given to him and Phoenix; and they are perfectly natural. Yet the counsel of Nestor is always sound and vigorous; and it is always called the best counsel. The age of Nestor, I think, is greater in English, than in Grecian calculation. An age in Herodotus, and, I suppose, in Homer,

is thirty years, the average period of a human generation. This rate would give to the old hero a term between sixty and ninety years. Take the medium of seventy or eighty years, and his life and action would not appear impossible, nor incredible, even in these degenerate days. And this term, I believe, agrees well enough with the connection of previous events, and with the records of history.

But in celebrating our side of the war, we must not neglect the claims of truth and justice on the other side. We must follow our author, who has maintained equal and impartial justice. We must not forget the noble and gallant Hector. He was terrible, impetuous, and ferocious ; but he was honorable, generous, and dignified. He was fighting desperately in a desperate cause ; for his city doomed to destruction, and his father who could not survive ; and this was pious and patriotic. But he was fighting for a cause which he abhorred, and for a brother whom he condemned ; and this I know not whether to call magnanimity or infatuation. But it was the infatuation of others ; and Hector the chief, the eldest son and heir, must strive with all his might to save his family and his people in spite of their infatuation. There is a mystery in all this, which cannot well be explained. But Herodotus has ex-

plained it, as we may see hereafter, in a way that would almost ruin the work of Homer, and therefore I cannot give him credit for a moment.

Æneas was valiant, and always very respectable, but he was reluctant and retired, and, as the poet says, indignant that he was not duly honored by Priam and his sons. He was of another branch of the same family, and probably an object of jealousy and suspicion. If, as in duty bound, I follow Homer, rather than Virgil, he lived to reign over the remnant of his people in their own country, though not in the ruined city. And on the same authority, and that of others, his family reigned after him to the third generation. This period agrees well with the date which I have been inclined to assign to Homer, and to the Æolian invasion. The poet could prophesy of the past, but not of the future.

The other Trojan warriors are not so distinct and conspicuous as the Grecian. Polydamas is wise and prudent, as well as valiant; always offering good counsel, which is always rejected with scorn; yet submitting to his chief, standing firm at his side, and defending him in his fall, under the rock of Ajax. In Sarpedon, besides his personal valor, there is an independent and kingly dignity, as befits a powerful king, who had come from far to defend a people of his own region against the

power of Greece, though he himself was of Grecian origin. He was the first to break the wall, but his father, Jupiter, could not save him from his fate.

The work grows on my hands, or rises and spreads before my eyes, like a magical palace. The whole and every part is a study. Sentiments abound, which are taken as texts and maxims. The language is flowing, smooth, clear, and harmonious, adapted to the subject, yet sustained and elevated, often rising to grandeur, and sometimes dissolving in tenderness, yet without any sickly affectation or inflated exaggeration. The descriptions are frequent, often beautiful, and often sublime. The speeches are exactly characteristic, and almost continual; for the form of the poem is nearly dramatical. If the warriors stop to make speeches in the midst of the battle, this I suppose is more suitable to the poem than to the action described. It varies the monotonous din of arms. And if there is more of this din and danger than suits our civil ears, we must yield the privilege to the time and to the people, to whom it was the noblest song and the grandest music.

The visit of Hector to his mother and wife in the sixth book is a most touching scene of domestic affection and patriotic devotion. I think the

poet sent him from the battle to the city purpose-ly to produce this scene, and to interest us the more in his future struggles, and honor, and fall. The embassy to Achilles in the ninth book is another scene of peculiar power and interest. There is the artful, insinuating address of Ulysses; and the keen, vehement, and indignant eloquence of Achilles, displaying a depth, and strength, and compass of thought and feeling, and a keenness of invective and irony, which is equal at least to the highest effort of Demosthenes. And then the long address of the aged Phoenix, his foster-father, recounting the misfortunes of his youth, and his attentions on the youth of his foster-son, and then telling a long, winding, perplexed story of Meleager, with sentence involved in sentence, and parenthesis in parenthesis, all this appears to me a most studied and finished piece of imitation. And finally, the abrupt conclusion of Ajax, "Let us go, for there is no end to all this talk," is the sentence of one who would rather fight than talk, and would rather sleep than do either; and yet he briefly exhibits a rude dignity, a strong argument, and a manly resolution.

But the poet, having shown his power throughout the work, has collected and exerted all his strength in the conclusion. This is described in the words which we read in Longinus. "You see,"

says he, "that, the earth being broken up from the foundation, and Tartarus laid open, and the world receiving a subversion and disruption, all things together, Heaven and Hades, mortals and immortals, are engaged together in the contest and peril of this battle. But," he adds, "these things, if they are not understood as an allegory, are unworthy of the gods, and not preserving propriety or decorum; for he has made gods of the men, and men of the gods." Herodotus says, that Homer and Hesiod formed the Grecian theology. I rather think, that Homer took the popular theology as he found it, which was not too exalted and refined for his purpose; that he probably modified it to his purpose; and introduced it into his poem, to give it amplitude and elevation. The Iliad was not designed for historical truth, but as a work of imagination. It may be interpreted in an allegorical sense; but I think it was agreeable to public opinion, to consider the gods as acting in the manner of men, and in the concerns of men, though with vast superiority of power. We must place a picture in the proper light, and take a right point of view, that we may see it in its perfection. And we should consider the poem in its proper time and circumstances, that we may see the art and power of the poet.

H O M E R .

III. THE ODYSSEY,—HYMNS,—BATRACHOMY- OMACHIA, ETC.

THE Odyssey is a much more tranquil and variable poem than the Iliad. It appears to be rightly named the Odyssey, or the Return of Ulysses, or rather Odysseus. There is a question, but not much urged, which poem was first composed. Some few think that the Odyssey was the work of the author's youth and fancy, and therefore it abounds in prodigious imaginations; and that the Iliad was the work of his maturity, and therefore, though superior in power and supernatural in agency, it is more strictly regulated according to the principles of reason and judgment. But I agree with Longinus, and most others, that it was subsequent in composition, as it is in the time and sequence of the events and

the action. He says also, or signifies, that it appears a proper sequel of the *Iliad*, in gathering up the materials that remained of that first great work, and inserting them gracefully in this more free and open structure. But he adds, that the *Odyssey* betrays the subsidence of age, in its laxer tone, and vigor, and impressment, and in running out into fables, and narrative, and ethical description and sentiment. He compares the work of the *Iliad* to the sun in its meridian power and splendor; and that of the *Odyssey* to the setting sun, which retains its magnitude, but has abated much of its ardor. He deems it the work of age, but yet of the age of Homer. Here I must differ a little from the master critic, and accede more to the opinion of others. If the author composed this latter work in the height of his life, as he probably did, next after the former, he would still have composed it in this more tranquil and moderate, though agreeable tenor, as more suitable to these more private and domestic subjects and occasions. He might probably have been able to produce this work in his old age. But whether in his old age he could have produced the *Iliad*, I think, is more of a question.

The *Iliad*, above all other epic poems, observes the unities of time, place, and action; and as it

is the first, so I believe it is the last, which does so strictly observe them. Virgil and Milton change their scenes widely. But the unity of the Iliad may be owing to the nature of the subject, the whole scene and action lying between a camp and a city at no great distance. If the author saw and kept his advantage, and he could not well avoid it, this may perhaps be deemed a special advantage of the case, rather than an absolute law of the poem. For he who was the first to make the law, was the first to break it; and it has ever since been more honored in the breach than in the observance. For I believe none have equalled the unity of the original. In the Odyssey the place and scene are often changed. The poet yields and adapts himself to the nature and circumstances of his subject; and does not suffer violence to be done to nature by any arbitrary law or convention. Indeed, the law was drawn from his first work, which he did not observe in the second. In both cases he was a law to himself; and a better law than if he had been bound by any precise rules, or any principles but those of his genius and judgment, applied to the subjects of his contemplation. Yet undoubtedly in both cases he had his plan, his object, and his end, distinctly in view. That of the first was

the honor of Achilles, and the fall of Troy. That of the second was the return and the honor of Ulysses. Both are made the occasions of producing various action and description; yet these parts are so connected as to be conducive to the main end of the whole composition. But their modes are different. The *Iliad* may be likened to one mighty river, varying in its course and motion, sometimes smoother, but oftener rapid and resounding; the *Odyssey* may be likened to diverse streams uniting in one, which, though far from being quiet and gentle streams, have not when united the volume and force of the greater river.

The design of the *Odyssey* appears to be expressed in the beginning, in the character of its hero; the man who knew many arts, and had seen many cities, and knew the minds and manners of many people. Together with the character and course of Ulysses, the work appears to be designed and adapted to exhibit the various ways and arts of life, to describe various places and situations, to express the minds and manners of various persons and people, and raise the whole with various wonders of fiction and imagination. The poem opens with the troubles of the house of Ulysses, in the first book. In the second, Te-

Ulysses calls an assembly to vindicate his rights. In the next three, he makes a voyage, under the guidance of Minerva, in the form of Mentor, his own and his father's friend, to visit Nestor and Menelaus, returned from Troy, to inquire for his long absent father. This to my mind is the pleasantest part of the poem; though all is suitable to the time, the occasion, and the author. Here the son of Ulysses enjoys the hospitality and kindness of his father's friends, and companions in arms and toils, and hears their narrations of the past, and their counsels for the future; and here is much and fine description of ancient life and manners, and style of habitation. And here he sees the famous Helen, the cause of so great ruin, restored to her husband and her home, and living in peace and splendor, after all her wanderings; and he receives her friendly attentions, which are marked with a peculiar grace and politeness. We know that the excellent Fénelon has extended this voyage, with large additions, inventions, and variations of his own, and has made it not only a work of entertainment, but a system of moral and political instruction for his pupil, the heir of France. In Homer, Minerva quits her ward in person, when she has brought him to the shore of Pylus and the abode of Nestor;

but in Fénelon she attends him through most of his travels and trials, or leaves him only occasionally, to try his mind, and increase his experience and his prudence.

Being now at the palace of Menelaus, I will take this occasion of mentioning a relation in Herodotus, before noticed, concerning the fate of Helen and of Troy. Menelaus informs Telemachus, that in his return he was driven to Egypt, where he was hospitably received. But Herodotus relates from the Egyptian priests, that Helen never went to Troy; that Paris was driven to Egypt, and that the King Proteus, learning the facts, took away the woman and the goods; that Proteus faithfully preserved all the spoils and the mistress, till the master should call for them; that, when the Greeks demanded restoration, the Trojans declared and affirmed that they had nothing to restore, for they had received nothing; that the Greeks would not believe them, but persisted till they had taken the city; and that then, at last, finding the truth, the husband went to Egypt and received his wife and his goods. And Herodotus thinks that this account was true, for he argues that the Trojans would not have given themselves up to ruin, that Paris might rejoice in his crimes. He further thinks that Ho-

mer knew the truth, but chose the fiction, as most adapted to his poem. It is remarkable, also, that Enripides has founded a tragedy on this detention of Helen in Egypt. This case may best account for the pertinacity of the Trojans. The poem remains indeed, and the poetry, if so capital a part of it be a fiction: but I feel that its natural power is abated; and we almost lose the high compliment paid to Helen by the elders of the people, who, though trembling with age and peril, when they saw her approaching, whispered among themselves, "Truly, it is not a cause of indignation, that the Trojans and Greeks should suffer such troubles for such a woman." We surely shall prefer to believe the poet, and preserve the integrity and power of the Iliad.

In the fifth book, Mercury is despatched to the island of Calypso, which is beautifully described, to order the departure of Ulysses. The Nymph obeys the command of Jupiter, and dismisses him with kind regret. He constructs a float, and tries the sea, and is wrecked by Neptune, and swims by supernatural aid to the island of the Phæacians. There are the splendid palace and gardens of Alcinoüs, and a happy people, living in peace and joy, under the special favor and protection of the gods. There he is nobly entertained, and in

his turn recounts his wonderful adventures;— the immanity of the Cyclops, and the Læstrigones, the sorceries of Circe, the spectacles and persons of the Shades, the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis, the destruction of his companions for their impiety, and his escape alone to the island of Calypso. This place is situated indefinitely in the midst of the sea or the ocean; and there is an obscurity and extravagance over all these places and passages. But they were the wonders of the age, and we may still find entertainment in them, if we give ourselves up to our author, and his time, and his imagination.

Ulysses was carried asleep by the Phæacians to his own island, Ithaca; and first repaired to the abode of his faithful and noble swineherd. Our author liberally and generously bestows adorning epithets, as Heyne calls them, and perhaps as much with a design to adorn his work as his persons. But such was the simplicity of the times and manners, united with no small degree of splendor and expense, that the greatest men took care of their own flocks, and herds, and horses, in which their wealth chiefly consisted; and they slew their own cattle, especially for sacrifices and festivals; and their wives and daughters spun, and wove, and made the clothes, and washed and

mended them. The wit, and art, and versatility of Ulysses are everywhere conspicuous. He always goes to work in a method, and tells a new story of himself on every occasion. With a good deal of art, he makes himself known to his faithful servant. And with as much art, he discovers himself to his beloved son ; who, having escaped the snares of the suitors, had retired to the cottage of almost the only servant of his father that remained faithful. Here they concert a plan to rid their house of its self-invited guests. The king goes to his court in the disguise of a beggar ; and is known only to his aged dog, who rouses himself to salute his master, and then sinks down in death. Here he plays off his old arts, and tells not his old, but his new stories, and fights a brother beggar, for the amusement of the insolent suitors of his wife. But soon, with his beloved son and his faithful servant, he turns and attacks them, and soon clears the house of them, and establishes himself the sole master of his own house and dominion.

But this simple and comparatively humble story is related mostly in an elevated, and elegant, and mellifluous style, with a great variety of action and incident and character, good sentiments, beautiful, or grand, or awful description, interesting

narrations, and conversations ; with all that appertains to a work of great genius and imagination. It is often said, that, to those who are pleased with these studies, the *Odyssey* is more interesting, though less animating, than the *Iliad*. But they have their distinctive characters, and it is not necessary to decide on the preference; or it may be decided by the taste or choice of the reader. Either or both may be esteemed according to their several natures. The *Iliad* is the greatest work, but the *Odyssey* may be the most pleasant. The *Iliad* is a strain of great and strenuous action. The *Odyssey* is a flow of pleasant and various narration.

Amidst the simplicity of the time which appears in the modes and manners of life, we have remarked a striking degree of advancement in the arts, and conveniences, and embellishments of life. The buildings, and furniture, and ornaments, and armor, are described in a style which indicates no small progress of improvement in stateliness, and richness, and finished execution. Such things must have existed at least in the time of Homer; for it is not probable that he could or would have advanced so far before his age in mechanical arts as to have fabricated them all, even by his own most active and fertile invention. As to the depth,

and strength, and justness of the sentiments, this is not unaccountable; for these are the products of the immediate and continual action of the mind, and of the intercourse and collisions of society; and they come sooner to maturity than the arts and sciences, which proceed from a more slow, and gradual, and often casual invention.

Pope, in his translation, has studied to relieve and elevate the native simplicity of the ancients, and adapt it to the pomp of modern ornament, and the more artificial forms of modern society. And this choice, perhaps, is excusable in a modern poetical translation. In connection with the graceful flow, and richness, and exquisite structure of his verse, it produces a poem, which is perhaps the most adequate modern representative of the ancient epic. But in the original we are better pleased with the original simplicity; and in the original this simplicity is most ornamental. It is impossible exactly and justly to translate a work of genius into another language; because it is intimately and inseparably connected with the language, the time, the manners, and the circumstances in which it was composed. In order to read it to the best advantage, we should read it in its native language, and place ourselves as much as possible in its original circumstances,

and enter into the spirit of the author. Cowper has given the most exact and literal translation; but I still think that Pope has given the most successful practical imitation. Whether it be possible to be more exact, and equally elegant, is a question which I cannot answer. I remember, that a great lover and repeater of antiquity, on reciting a splendid passage of a Greek author, has observed on it: "That passage cannot be reproduced in the English language by another person than Edmund Burke." The slow, and short, and grave step of English blank verse does not readily reach the long, and strong, and rapid, but graceful and dignified march of the ancient heroes, *μακρὰ βιβῶντες*. Perhaps the brevity of the English iambic renders it necessary, or natural, to study to arrest the rapidity of the language by impressing some gravity and fixture on the diction. But the ancient hexameter is free, easy, and flowing, and at the same time elevated, firm, and majestic. The measure is melodious in itself, and the optional intermixture of dactyls and spondees greatly increases the facilities of the poet.

Yet great praise is due to Cowper for his faithful diligence and fertile invention. And greater praise is due for the fineness, and richness, and power, and goodness of his own original genius

and productions. It is a much happier work, both in labor and in fruit, for a man of genius to produce his own original conceptions, than to study to force the thoughts and words of others, however excellent, into his own conceptions and expressions; or to force his own terms and modes on their thoughts and language; or wherein he fails, to afford equivalents or substitutes.

Before I quit this subject, I must speak a word of the technical terms in which it is expressed, such as Epos, Epic, Epopoïa, or Epopœa. Epos literally signifies a word; Epea, words; and by these modest terms the hexameter verse appears to have been originally denoted. The reason of this use may have been, that discourses or instructions of the poets given to the schools, or the people, were composed in this measure. Epos often signifies a single verse; Epea, this species of verse, hexameter. But as this measure was more particularly applied to what is called heroic poetry, and especially to the great heroic poems of Homer, the names Epos and Epea are extended to express this species of poem, embracing the whole composition. Epopoïa is a compound word, literally signifying the making of epic verses. It may, perhaps, sometimes merely denote composing of such *verses*; but I think it came by use

to denote the composing of such *poems*, and the whole art and doctrine of such composition. An epic poem, I think, now means a poem constructed like those of Homer. Aristotle has given it this definition; but I question whether he could have produced another example. Yet the definition is a good and sound one.

There are above thirty Hymns to the Deities, some longer and some shorter, which bear the name of Homer, and are frequently printed with his poems; but of which the authenticity is very much disputed and denied. But so ancient and respectable an authority as Thucydides recites thirteen verses of the Hymn to Apollo, and ascribes them to Homer without any question: in which the author, though without naming himself, yet speaks of himself as a blind man, living in Chios. But he speaks also of himself as the sweetest of poets, as frequenting the festivals of Delos, and whose songs will all excel thereafter. This is not exactly the manner of Homer, who says very little in his own person, and nothing, I think, in his own praise. It rather appears to be the style of an admirer, who is speaking in his name, and at the same time investing himself in his honor. I imagine that the hymns speak of places and topics which were later than the time

of Homer, or, at least, which do not appear in his larger poems. Yet the Hymn to Apollo, at least, must have been of a respectable antiquity and authority, to have been quoted so unreservedly by Thucydides; although we may observe, that those ancients who were not *professed critics* were not extremely critical and fastidious in their judgment of authors or authorship. The Hymn to Apollo is supposed by some to have been composed by Cynæthus of Chios, a celebrated rhapsodist, and the others may have had a similar origin. Some of them are as long as a common book of the Iliad. They are mutilated, as appears, not only in the fragments of lines, but also in the interruption of the connection. Yet, with all these disadvantages, the hymns appear worthy to hold their place, with the just critical reserve, and to be published with the works of him under whose name they appear.

The Battle of the Frogs and Mice, *Batrachomyomachia*, is a little mock-heroic story, told in good set terms, yet with a very ludicrous effect. The name sufficiently expresses the subject and the character. Some have thought it to be the sport of Homer's youth. But as it imitates his larger works, it is concluded that it must have been subsequent. But it is not probable that he would

have made a burlesque on his own great works. Another might have done it, not to ridicule the poet, but to make his own play the more ludicrous. It was known anciently, and by some given to Homer; but denied by more; and most commonly assigned to Pigres, brother of Artemisia, queen of Caria. The style is good, but I think not exactly Homeric. The author begins with writing his work in *ἄλφους*, tablets, on his knee, which is not Homeric, except in the case of Bellerophontes. And the long train of epithets which escort the Crabs who come to succor the Frogs, I think, is in the manner of a later age. Yet there was a critic so desperately critical as to prefer the "Frogs and Mice" before the Iliad and Odyssey; because it is more perfect in the execution, and complete in the end, which was to be ludicrous. So we may say, that, if it be a man's object and end to make himself completely ridiculous, he will probably be more successful than the most learned or wise men in their pursuits; and therefore he is the superior man.

To the works of Homer are sometimes added what are called his Epigrams. These are, for the most part, the verses which are given to him in the Life of Homer, which is ascribed to Herodotus: to which are added some verses, which are quoted as his by ancient authors.

•

Besides the works which are extant, there are, in Fabricius, twenty-four titles, but I think not so many distinct works, which are lost; and which were sometimes ascribed to Homer, but more generally discredited. Some of them are included under other titles; some, one in another; and some are different titles of the same thing. Most of them appear to be light and ludicrous; but some, again, are of a graver character.

Such is *The Thebais*, or *The Siege of Thebes*, in seven books; more particularly entitled, "*The Defeat or Flight of Amphiaraus at Thebes.*" This is the first siege or expedition against Eteocles, son of *Œdipus*, with the seven chiefs, who all fell but *Adrastus*. *Pausanias* relates, that *Calainus*, or *Callimachus*, says that *Homer* made this poem; and that many other persons, and respectable, are of the same opinion; and he adds, "I praise this poem most of all after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.*" Thus he. But it is generally held that *Homer* left nothing considerable but his two great poems. We have a tragedy of *Æschylus* on this subject, *The Seven at Thebes*. Also the *Phœnissæ* of *Euripides*. And the *Œdipus Coloneus* of *Sophocles* introduces it; and his *Antigone* is a sequel of the same. I find no other author named of this poem. Yet it must be admitted, that the author of these works must have composed many other works.

•

Then comes The Epigonoi, signifying the sons of the former seven chiefs, who, about ten years afterwards, avenged the death of their fathers by the capture and desolation of Thebes. This was also in seven books. Among these was Diomedes, son of Tydeus, and his friend Sthenelus, son of Capaneus. Both events are mentioned in the fourth book of the Iliad, and in other places. Herodotus speaks of it thus: "There is mention of the Hyperboreans by Hesiod, and likewise by Homer in the Epigonoi, if, in truth, Homer made these verses."* By a scholiast it is assigned to Antimachus, a poet who lived in the age of Socrates, and who is said to have made a recension of the works of Homer. There is an Epigoni in English, by Wilkie, said to be a well-sustained poem, and of course original.

A smaller Iliad is also ascribed to Homer by his biographer Herodotus, who says that Histories, a schoolmaster, ran away with it, as also with another poem named Phocæis, made in Phocæa of Asia. Other writers mention the smaller Iliad, and particularly Aristotle in his Poetica. And he treats it as not Homer's work, but as a different kind of work. He says, that the great Iliad has

* Herod. Lib. IV. c. 32.

a unity of action; but he who made the *Cypria* and the small *Iliad* has composed them of many parts; so that many tragedies are taken from them, among which are named *Philoctetes*, and *The Troades*. I suppose they were narrative or historical poems. I understand the small *Iliad* to have described the whole war and destruction of Troy; which is not done in the great work. A line quoted from it, on this event, is in the Doric dialect, which is not Homer's. It is sometimes assigned to Lesches of Lesbos; but his work is said to have been simply the destruction of Troy, beginning with the death of Achilles.

The *Cypria*, or *Kupria*, is sometimes ascribed to Homer, but generally denied. Stasinus is named as the author. Herodotus* argues, that it was not Homer; for in the *Cypria* Paris goes in three days from Sparta to Troy, but in the *Iliad* he has a long and circuitous voyage, and stops at Sidon; and the historian believes that the poet knew that he was also in Egypt, and that Helen was detained there; and he observes, that in this place alone the poet appears to be embarrassed. The *Cypria* is said to have begun with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and to have proceeded to the times of Troy.

* Herod. Lib. II. c. 117.

The Cercopes, or Kerkopes, also bears his name, probably without reason. It appears to have been a satire against artful and fraudulent men, as the title indicates.

The Margites is assigned to Homer on better authority. Aristotle in his *Poetica* names it as his without any question, and in other places. Plato cites it in his Second Alcibiades. And other writers name it. There are a few verses extant, and it was a satire on some unlucky wight whose stupidity the poet celebrates. He knew many works, and knew all badly. The gods made him neither a digger, nor a ploughman, nor any thing else that was wise; for he failed in every art. Yet he is a servant of the Muses, and of the far-darting Apollo. I imagine he might be some poor poet, some Bavius, or Mævius, at whom the conscious epic took great offence and scorn, possibly because he was more successful with the people, if not in the *arte poetica*, or art of making poetry, yet in the *artopoetica*, or art of making bread; as Alstedius uses the word in his old Encyclopædia. It is conjectured, however, that the original was lost early, and that the work that was abroad was substituted by Pigres of Halicarnassus, who seems to be brought in as the general sponsor for all Homer's offspring that were

not acknowledged, especially of those that were of a ludicrous nature.

The Nostoi, or Returns of the Greeks from Troy, are often mentioned. They appear by the name, and by the accounts of them, to have consisted of various parts, by various authors. They are ranged by Fabricius under the head of the lost and disputed works of Homer; but do not appear to have been much considered as his, either by Fabricius, or by the ancients. They appear to have been comprised in the collection called the Cyclus, or Kuklos, the Circle, or the Cyclical Poets, or Poems, in which some of those before mentioned were probably included. These were often cited in ancient times.

The last work that I shall name at present is The Capture of Œchalia by Hercules, which has been said to have been presented by Homer to Creophylus, his friend and host in Samos. Photius, as quoted, says that it is ancient, but much younger than Homer. Hercules took the city of Eurytus, and his daughter, Iole, which excited the jealousy of Dejanaira; who sent him the poisoned tunic to retain his love, but thus destroyed his life.

Of the editions of Homer, Dr. Clark's is well known. It was a long time the standard, and I

believe is not yet wholly out of date and use. It has been improved by Ernesti, who has given a respectable edition.

Heyne's large edition of the *Iliad*, in eight volumes, octavo, abounds in criticism, explanation, and dissertation. His first two volumes of text and notes make a convenient book for the use of schools. But I think that the omission of the epenthetic and paragoric letters is rather inconvenient to our ears and tongues.

Wolf has retained them, and his edition is esteemed the most justly critical and judicious. He first edited Ernesti's edition, for the use of the publishers; and then he went on and published several editions of his own for the use of the schools. He has given large *Prolegomena*, half finished; and copious prefaces, and a clear and well-constituted text; and has promised commentaries, which promise I believe he never performed. His corrections are not numerous; but they commend themselves. By a slight change he often produces a fine effect, perhaps more and better than occurred to the author. Yet we hoped, that, if he would not give, he would at least leave his authorities to the world. But he is gone, and, it is said, has left not a wreck behind. It has been said that he was the most able and the most idle of scholars. But

let us not be deceived. Great works are not commonly accomplished without great labor, nor great learning obtained without much study. I believe he was not idle; but not constant; studying intensely when he was engaged, but given to change, on a new temptation. He speaks much of his labor, and his collections; and I believe in his study and accuracy. But, after all, I suspect that, with his books around him, his index was his head, and his record was his text; or the margin of his copy, which he sent to the printer.

IV. HESIOD.—CYCLIC POETS.

HESIOD says, in his *Works and Days*, "My father and thine, O foolish Perses, sailed in ships, wanting a good living: who formerly came hither, passing the wide sea, leaving Æolian Kumæ in a black ship, flying not from plenty, wealth, and prosperity, but wretched poverty, which Jupiter gives to men; and he dwelt near Helicon, in a miserable village, Ascra, bad in winter, worse in summer, and good at no time."

In his *Theogony* he gives us his inauguration as a poet. The Muses formerly taught Hesiod a beautiful song, while feeding lambs under the divine Helicon:—"The Goddesses, the Olympian Muses, daughters of Ægis-bearing Jupiter, first spake to me in these words: 'Rustic shepherds, abject men, merely supporting life, we know how to speak many fictions like the truth; and we

know, also, when we will, to speak the truth.' So saying, the fair-speaking daughters of great Jupiter gave me a staff, a branch of the flourishing laurel, respectable to be borne; and they inspired me with divine song, that I might know the past and the future; and they bade me hymn the race of the immortal gods; and first and last to sing themselves."

Thus in his own words we have the place of his origin and of his residence. But whether he was born before or after his father's removal, we are not informed. From his manner, and his silence on that point, we should think that he was born afterwards. But however, it is evident that he was brought up and educated at Ascra, in Bœotia. The time of his birth or life is more disputed. Some make him prior to Homer; others, subsequent; but most, I believe, about contemporary. There is a small work extant, setting forth a musical or poetical trial between him and Homer, on a public occasion, in which he is said to have gained the victory, or the decision in his favor. If this were authentic, it would settle the question; but it appears to be most generally discredited. Of this we may speak hereafter, as we have it before us. Herodotus joins them together, but places Hesiod first, in a passage in which he says that,

about four hundred years before his time, Hesiod and Homer composed the Theogony of the Greeks. This account would place them both between eight and nine hundred years before the Christian era, and about one hundred years before the foundation of Rome. They were also reported to have been near relations, cousins; but Hesiod rather the eldest. But that both originated from Cuma, of Æolis, in Asia, and about the same time, though probably neither of them was born there, I consider as sufficiently settled for all our purposes; if not for a court of law and justice, yet perhaps for a court of criticism and probability, in which no interest depends but a matter of fact, and no right or title is gained or lost, but a matter of opinion. We may add, that Fabricius interprets a passage of Hesiod as we have done already; where he speaks of the heroes of Troy as living in the former age, *πρωτέρη γενεῇ*; in the former age, the age or generation before the author's.

We must now view our poet alone, living in his poor village of Ascra, exposed to the winds and snows and torrents of winter, and to the confined and reflected heat of summer, tending his flocks in the mountains, and paying his court to the Muses, or receiving their proffered favor and inspiration. Here he was; not in a distant province, nor on

the borders of the region, but in the very abode and sanctuary of his goddesses. That Helicon and Pieria were celebrated as the abodes of the Muses, we very naturally and unpoetically attribute to the poets who lived there, or frequented them, and rendered them famous in song and in story; or to the temples, groves, or sacred rites, and festivals, which were there dedicated to them, and attended by the praises and the trials of the poets. Thus Pieria may have obtained its celebrity by the residence of Orpheus; and he who was the reputed son may have been the real father of the epic Muse. And so Hesiod may have in a great measure given its celebrity to Helicon. But his verse and his confession sufficiently show that he must have had his masters, although not his superiors. His description of the visit of the Muses, and the quality of his verses, indicate to me that poetry was already cultivated in those regions.

The life of a poet or a literary man, as Johnson and Goldsmith and others observe, is commonly known by his works, rather than by any remarkable events. Hesiod appears to have led a quiet and retired life in his mountains, among his flocks and his Muses. Once, he says, and but once, he sailed on the broad sea, from Aulis to Chalcis in Eubœa. If he took the common pas-

sage, and the shortest course across the Euripus, his voyage could not have been much longer than to cross our river here, on the way to Brighton. But his course seems to have been oblique, and a little longer; perhaps a mile or two. He sailed, as he says, from Aulis, where the Greeks collected a great army against Troy. He went to attend the celebration of the funeral of Amphidamas, whose magnanimous sons had proclaimed many prizes. And there he gained a victory by his hymn, and received a tripod as a prize, which he dedicated to the Heliconian Muses, in the place where they first initiated him in sweet poetry. This is said by later writers to have been a victory over Homer; but he certainly makes no mention of Homer in his own narration. They also account for the wrath which he pours on his poor little village, by a fine which was inflicted on him; but the occasion they do not assign, which is a rare instance of the lack or neglect of invention. They leave us to imagine, if we please, that it was some poetical freak or vagary, like that of Shakspeare entering inclosures, and making too free a use of deer which belonged to other persons. Yet Hesiod appears as a grave, gentle, and moral poet; and, on the other hand, his village, in an epigram made to his praise, is called πολὺλῆτος, abounding in harvests.

The story of his death is violent and tragical, and indeed incredible, though it is positively, yet differently, related. He is said to have lived to a great age; and being in the state of Locris, he was supposed or suspected to have done a wrong to the family of his entertainer; and the brothers in their revenge slew him, and cast his body into the sea. The story is abated by some, by saying that it was one of his company who was the offender, and that the old poet was killed by accident, or as conscious of the injury. But the sequel was poetical. His body was brought to land by dolphins; and the people drove the perpetrators into the sea, and entombed the body, and erected a monument.

There are three short poems extant, in hexameter verse, which bear the name of Hesiod; The Works and Days, The Theogony, and The Shield of Hercules.

The most esteemed, and the least disputed, is entitled Works and Days, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*. This, I believe, has uniformly been ascribed to him. It is chiefly a didactic and preceptive poem, of eight hundred lines, intermixed with narration and description. And it may be taken as a specimen of the ancient and primitive philosophical poetry. The beginning, and, as I think, the most highly

poetical part, is inserted in the *Majora*. After the proper exordium, it opens with a contention between the poet and his brother Perses, concerning the inheritance; where he complains, that his brother had carried off the better part of the heritage by his rapacity, and the corruption of the judges. Yet he continues to advise and admonish him through the whole work, in a very fraternal way, calling him "foolish Perses," but giving him counsels and instructions which, if followed, would render him a wiser and a better man. From the notice of this strife, he rises at once in contemplation to the better and happier life, which he says Jupiter had concealed from men; being offended at Prometheus for a deception in a sacrifice. The particular offence is expressed in the *Theogony* in no very dignified manner, and will not be repeated. Thence he proceeds with the well-known story of Pandora, and thence to the four, or rather five, ages of man, the golden, the silver, the brazen, the heroic, by way of parenthesis and exception, and finally, to his own age of iron. He appears to place his age next and near to that of the heroes, and to describe the state of Greece consequent to the absence of the rulers and the better part of the people at the siege, and to their dissension and disaster

after the fall of Troy. But he rises higher than the age of heroes and of Troy, to traditions, which appear to correspond as well as might be expected with the primitive and more authentic history of mankind.

From the Iron Age he proceeds to give good instructions and counsels to kings, and people, and Perses, counsels of wisdom, justice, prudence, benevolence, and religion, and monitions of the Divine government and judgment. Thereupon he advises and exhorts his foolish brother Perses not to go about begging and deceiving, but to go to work, and earn his living, like an honest man, and to make himself respectable and independent. And he shows him how to go to work; giving him in detail the instructions of agriculture. But if he chose to go to sea, he gives him a little advice about navigation, excusing himself, that he had never sailed but a mile or two; and that their father was a poor sailor, who was finally hauled up in a poor berth, in the rocky coasts of Helicon. But it seems he had left substance enough to be at least a *bone* of contention between his sons. The poem is concluded with the Days, — times and seasons, fit and unfit, lucky and unlucky, for business and life. This brother Perses may be a personification, an imaginary charac-

ter, assumed to sustain the poem; but the air and manner of address have all the appearance and advantage of reality and serious earnest.

The language is smooth, easy, temperate, and well chosen, and adapted to the subject. The style is of that character which the critics call *suavissimus*. The work abounds in good sentiments and good sense, in sound maxims and just descriptions. It appears to have been a favorite of Socrates and others, who esteemed virtue and practical wisdom more than subtle philosophy and vain imagination.

Yet the style is not destitute of point, and paradox, and enigma, but rather offers more than might be expected in so high antiquity. There is a riddle in the beginning, which gives us annually a little puzzle: "Fools, they know not how much the half is more than the whole; nor how great profit there is in mallows and asphodel." Let the wise king explain it: "Better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right." "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." There is a sentence of great weight and truth in the progress of the work, which ought to be repeated. "*He plots mischief against himself who plots it against another.* An evil design is most evil to

its author." And there are many sentences of this description. There is to my mind a striking beauty in the conception, that the spirits of the Golden Age are guardians of mortal men, going throughout the earth, clothed in air, watching over justice and unrighteous deeds.

The Theogony, of about one thousand lines, is for the most part a prodigious, astonishing, and almost innumerable catalogue of divinities, of their names, their races, and generations. But it begins with a beautiful procemium respecting the Muses, where they give him his commission, and are represented as the instructors of kings in justice and eloquence, and the inspirers of poets, to enlighten the minds and soothe the sorrows of mankind.

Then he begins with Chaos, and Earth, *Γαῖα*, and Love, *Ἔρως*, which, though not so distinctly here, yet in other poets is the first principle of the formation of all things. From Chaos sprang Erebus and Night, and from them arose Ether and Day. From the Earth arose the Heaven, and from Heaven and Earth, or Ouranos and Gaia, proceeded the Titan gods, of whom the youngest was Saturn. He supplanted his father, and was supplanted by his son Jupiter. The war of the Titans with Jupiter and his family

appears to have been a contest for the kingdom, or for its recovery and defence. In this war, toward the conclusion of the poem, the author rises to the sublime, or the terrible and awful, in description. I have thought, that possibly it might poetically depict the prevalence of the Egyptian theology over the Pelasgian, which came from Asia. There was a war with the Giants, which is sometimes differently described from this with the Titans, and sometimes appears to be confounded with it; and I suppose they all equally arose from some general notions, or imaginations, or traditions, which the poets had received, or conceived, and delivered down in succession. They may possibly refer to the giants and the violence of the antediluvian world.

It has been said, that Hesiod and Homer were the authors of the Greek Theogony; and Herodotus, who says it, is of high authority, and had better means than we can have of forming a just judgment. But yet, with deference, I should hardly think that they would venture or desire to impose a new creation on the popular belief, or that they would expose their poems to so great a disadvantage or danger. From the nature of the case, I should rather suppose that they took up the popular superstitions; and that Homer,

perhaps, adapted them to his purposes, and gave them some of his own decoration; but that Hesiod had designedly and professedly collected all the names and notions that he could find, and perhaps made them out and arranged them by the help of his own imagination. But the Egyptian names of the divinities were undoubtedly very different from the Grecian, and it is possible that the poets may have obliged their countrymen with Greek translations.

Hesiod and Homer are deeply reproached by the philosophers and the serious part of their nation for their representations of the gods, as dishonorable and atheistical. And it must be confessed that they have treated them in rather a free, familiar, and unreserved manner. And yet they always appear to be religious in principle, according to their best notions of religion; and we should think that they would not voluntarily adventure any thing that would be plainly abhorrent and shocking to public opinion. We, who consider them as imaginations, can receive them as poetical fictions with more toleration than those to whose opinions they offered a more immediate violence. At least, we can consider them as the errors of those times of ignorance of the highest truth.

The Theogony is most generally ascribed to Hesiod; except by the Bœotians, who seemed to think it not honorable to their countryman, as Pausanias relates, who also expresses some doubt of his own, or question of others. But in the Works and Days, the poet says that he dedicated the tripod, the prize of his victory, in the place where he first received the visit of the Muses; which visit is celebrated in the introduction to the Theogony. But this introduction is disputed; and there is no end to doubts and disputations.

The Shield of Hercules, as it is called, might be more properly called his Combat with Cynus, or the Death of the latter. It is named The Shield because a great part is filled with the description of the shield of Hercules. Cynus, the son of Mars, appears as one of those violent persons of the times, whom it was the office of Hercules to subdue; and he seems to assail him without any further reason or ceremony, except that of demanding a free passage. Cynus infested a grove of Apollo, and robbed those who brought offerings. Hercules is attended by his constant companion and cousin, Iolaus; and Cynus by his father, Mars. But the battle is much shorter than the preparation. Cynus is slain at a blow, and

the father is wounded by another, and carried off from the field. But Minerva has stood by Hercules, and Apollo of course was on his side. The description of the shield appears to be an imitation, or emulation, of that of Achilles by Homer. But it is much less elegant, and much more difficult to comprehend. The figures are not merely embossed, and standing out in relief from the surface; but some of them are made to move with the motion of the shield; and the image of Perseus is expressly made to stand off in the air without touching the surface, like the image reflected by a concave mirror. Longinus expresses a doubt of the authenticity of this piece; and many others have expressed the same, in ancient and modern times. But some think it is a portion preserved from a larger work; and it is evidently ἀκέφαλος, as it is called, without a head, or proper beginning. There were other works assigned to Hesiod, which are lost; particularly, poems on the heroes and the heroines.

A little piece has come down to us, called the Contest of Homer and Hesiod; and it is sometimes printed with the works of Hesiod, as in Robinson's edition, and sometimes with those of Homer, as in Barnes's. It was composed, not before, but rather after the time of the Roman

Emperor Hadrian; for it mentions him by name, as having consulted the oracle concerning the birth of Homer, and received for answer, that he was an Ithacan, son of Telemachus and of Epicaste, daughter of Nestor, who by Homer is named Polycaste. The oracles had nearly ceased at this time. The contest was at the funeral of Amphidamas before mentioned. Hesiod proposes questions in verse, and Homer answers them in verse. Then they proceed to capping verses. Hesiod proposes a line, and Homer claps on another line to make out the sentence, not to say the sense; finally, at the demand of the judge, each repeats a passage, which he thinks the best of his own works. All the Greeks gave the victory to Homer, and I agree with all the Greeks. But the Judge, Panis, or Panides, or Panoïdes, brother of the deceased, gave the prize to Hesiod; and for a very wise and good reason, rather than critical and just; namely, that Hesiod's works are works of peace, and Homer's works of war. Hence a judgment rather uncritical is called the judgment of Panides. Homer evidently had the laboring oar to row. But some have reversed the trial, and given Homer the lead, and made Hesiod clearly overtop and overcap his great antagonist.

Several other works have been named as He-

siod's, which are not now extant. That which I have seen most quoted is commonly named 'Hoîai Meyálai, but, I think, mostly with some doubt of the authorship. A considerable number of fragments remain, as they are quoted by ancient authors, from the works of this poet which are lost, and in style they are equal to any thing that is preserved; and in the subjects and topics they cause us to regret the loss, as they would seem to supply many chasms, and satisfy many inquiries.

The title 'Hoîai Meyálai seems to be a phrase taken from the beginning of a poem, or of frequent use in it; as we may see at the beginning of the Shield. This was a frequent way of quoting books and passages, by the initial words. The subject is understood to be a Catalogue, or Celebration of illustrious Women, Heroines, in five books. This work he promises in the conclusion of the Theogony; or else the Theogony is the first part separated from a larger work, including Gods, Heroes, and Heroines.

There appear to be some uncertain indications of a Catalogue of Heroes. And there are various titles, some of which probably are only various titles of the same books, or of parts of the same.

Concerning the dialect of Hesiod, we may observe, that it is essentially the same with that of Homer, though one confessedly lived in Bœotia, and it is commonly acknowledged that the other lived in Asia, or at least that his works were composed there. It bears mostly the appearance of the Ionic; but has been said probably to have been the established Epic language, and partaking of several modes, which were afterwards called different dialects. But Hesiod has less variety of dialect than Homer.

In the style, the subjects, for the most part, naturally required a temperate or moderate diction. But when the subject rises to grandeur, the diction rises with it, and appears as lofty as Homer's; but I should say, perhaps, not quite so easy and natural, or rather more forced or inflated, yet grand and majestic.

Under the head of Homer, I have spoken of a Cyclus, or Circle of poems, which is often mentioned, but indefinitely, by the ancients. Heyne and Harles have given a considerable account of them. They appear to have been a collection, or rather a catalogue, of epic or hexameter poems, which were once numerous, but which are not now extant, excepting a few fragments, that are found in the quotations of authors. They were frequent-

ly called Cyclical, *Κυκλικοί*. They appear to have comprised most or all those works which have before been noticed as ascribed to Homer and Hesiod without sufficient authority, and others, which were not ascribed to them; and they seem to be sometimes considered as including the more authentic works of these authors, — as embracing the whole body of epic or hexameter poetry, especially that which was historical. The title Cyclical seems also to have been a term of distinction between the Epic and other species of poetry, such as the Tragic, Comic, and Lyric, or Metrical. But in regard to the primarian poets, such as Homer and Hesiod, I think that they stood alone on their own foundation and character; and I think, also, that I have seen in the ancients the Cyclical Poets mentioned as an order inferior to these first great masters.

There were two Cycli, at least, between which there was some distinction: the *Cyclus Mythicus*, which related to the mythology previous to the Heroic Ages; and the *Cyclus Epicus*, which related to the Heroic Ages of Hercules and Theseus, and the siege of Troy, and the return and disasters of the victors. Such were the *Heracleïd*, the *Theseïd*, the *Thebaïd*, the *Epigonoï*, the *Ῥοίαι*, the *Argonautica*, the smaller *Iliad*, the *Nostoi*, or *Re-*

turns from Troy, the Naupactica, which is often quoted, and of which Pausanias wonders that so various and extensive a work should be named from Naupactus, a small port in the western part of Greece.

There was another Cyclus, much later than the former, and of a different character. This was the Cyclus of Alexandria, a selection or catalogue, made by the grammarians, of those they esteemed the best authors, which therefore became classical and were best preserved. The others fell into disuse and oblivion.

Before we conclude, we must not forget Dictys the Cretan, and Dares the Phrygian, in whose names two Latin and prosaic histories of the war of Troy are extant. They are pretended to have been present in the war, and of course to have made their works before those of Homer. It sufficiently appears that these works existed in Greek, and were made or done into Latin. But it also sufficiently appears that they were not known before the times of the Neros; though they are mentioned by later writers. But the most remarkable thing connected with them is a Latin *poem* on the same subject, which bore the name of Cornelius Nepos, but is shown to have been composed by Josephus Iscanus, an English-

man, in the time of Henry the Second and Thomas à Becket, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the midst of the dark ages of Europe; and it appears to be good Latin, and good verse. These works, I believe, were more known at that time than the works of Homer.

I can only mention at present two sequels of the Iliad in Greek verse. One is by Quintus Smyrnæus, a Latin name, but a Greek poet, who probably lived in the later times of the Roman Empire. The verse is good, and the matter is supposed to be drawn from the Cyclical Poets.

The other is by Tryphiodorus, who lived about the same time, and exhibits about the same character.

V. THE DARK AGES AFTER HOMER.

BETWEEN the times of Troy and Homer and Hesiod, and those of Solon and Peisistratus, there is a great gulf, or flood, which has overwhelmed most of the works of men, of poets, and of historians. Only a few insulated facts and scattered fragments appear to our view. "*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*" The reason is not that there were no facts, nor men, nor poets, nor historians, in all this time, nor relating to this period; but that they are almost all sunk and lost in the deluge of time. A few names and fragments of poets remain; and Pherecydes of the island Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, are said to have been the first writers of prosaic composition. We cannot justly call them the inventors of prose. Pherecydes of Syros was a philosopher, and said to have been an instructor of Pythagoras. But

there was another Pherecydes, of Athens, or of the island Leros, about fifty years after the former, who was an historian, or rather a mythologist, in prose; and who is said to have written of the earliest and heroic times; and also to have collected the poems of Orpheus, and perhaps supplied some of them. But these works are lost, except a few fragments, which are collected from quotations made from them by other authors. But there is a more serious loss of a later historian, who wrote expressly of the times next subsequent to the heroic, Ephorus of Cuma, a scholar of Isocrates. He set himself to write a sober history of men and things after the times of Troy, and continued it through a period of seven hundred and fifty years; whence the work was continued by Diyllus, and others. He was said by some to be rather credulous; but, proceeding from so great a school, we should expect from him some discretion and judgment, and certainly some matter of fact, if it were mixed with some portion of fiction. He is often cited by later writers; but I believe all that remains of him is in these citations. His fellow-scholar, Theopompus, a Chian, was an orator, and also an historian; but he appears to have written chiefly of later times than those before us at present.

The most ancient History extant is that of Herodotus. But he begins in Asia, with the Lydian kingdom, and does not touch European Greece, till the time of Solon and Pisistratus; and then he has a few references to earlier times. Thucydides followed him, and wrote professedly of the Peloponnesian war; but he gives a concise general introduction concerning the earlier state of Greece. He notices some facts and events, but binds himself by a strict rule of proceeding no further than he is borne out by satisfactory evidence. The compendious *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus is broken off suddenly with Theseus. And the large *Historical Bibliotheca* of Diodorus has lost five whole books, containing the history from the times of Theseus to those of the Persian invasion. Therefore we are left chiefly to the geographical works of Strabo and Pausanias, and to the historical notices which are scattered throughout their topical descriptions, and to incidental notices in other authors, and the Scholiasts.

The fate of the Greeks was almost as disastrous as that of the Trojans. So Nestor describes it to Telemachus: "There lies the martial Ajax, and there Achilles; and there Patroclus, like a god in counsel; and there my beloved son, valiant and noble, Antilochus." Ajax, the son of

•

Telamon, slew himself in rage and indignation; Ajax, the son of Oileus, was destroyed by the indignation of Minerva, for violating her temple. The fate of Agamemnon is well known. Diomedæ also found troubles at home, and retired with his followers to Italy, where he was greatly celebrated. Teucer was driven from Salamis by his father Telamon, for not preserving his brother, and he went to Cyprus, and founded the city Salamis. It is said that Menestheus was expelled from Attica, and went to Spain, but it is not universally so reported. However, it is generally affirmed that he was succeeded in the kingdom by Demophon, the son of Theseus. In the Odyssey Telemachus finds Nestor at home in Pylus, and Menelaus returned to Sparta after many adversities. Idomeneus is said to have returned to Crete. And Ulysses, we read, after his long wanderings, returned to Ithaca. But when he had reached his little rocky island, he who was the most politic man in the Grecian counsels appears of no further importance in the Grecian politics.

In following the lines of history we have repeatedly and necessarily anticipated the few but important events which occur in this obscure period. Thucydides in his introduction writes, that after the Trojan war there were great disturbances, and

contentions, and removals, and changes in the Grecian states. He states, that, sixty years after the war, there was a great irruption of Bœotians, driven from Thessaly, into the Cadmeian land, and signifies that they gave their name to the country. But he admits that there was a division of this tribe before in the country; for they are expressed by this name in the Catalogue of Homer. This event appears to be coincident with what is termed by other authors the return of the exiles, who had fled from their country in the war of Thebes. They may be supposed to have been attended in their return by many of the Thessalians, with whom they had been settled, and who were expelled with them from their seats by other Thessalians.

At this period of sixty years, I should also place the beginning of that which has so often been called the Æolian expedition to Asia. It is so placed by some writers, and it is said that some of these displaced Bœotians and Thessalians joined the expedition. But others make it a consequence of the Dorian irruption into the Peloponnesus. Penthilus, a natural son of Orestes, led his party first from Bœotia to Thrace, whence he or his son passed over to Troas. But another party, under Kleues and Malaos, also of the house of Aga-

memnon, went from Locris, between Bœotia and Thessaly, about the same time; and they passed the sea directly to Asia, and settled Cuma, which I suppose was the first Æolian settlement.

The Dorian expedition, with the descendants of Hercules, is placed at eighty years from the time of Troy by the accurate Thucydides. Of this event enough has been said already for the present occasion. And it agrees well with the successions of generations. For Thymœtes, who forfeited the kingdom of Attica by his cowardice, was, I think, the third in descent from Demophon, son of Theseus, or the fourth in succession from Menestheus, who supplanted Theseus, and went to Troy. And Melanthus, who supplanted Thymœtes, had fled from Messenia, on the occasion of the Dorian invasion. Again, the grandsons of Melanthus, sons of Codrus, led the Ionian expedition to Asia. This reckoning will give about forty years after the time of the Dorians, and sixty after that of the Æolians. This is my general impression. I know there are other statements and calculations, and later in time, and probably more accurate. But these may stand for the present as landmarks, or rather sea-marks, for we are floating, as we said, in a flood of uncertainties. The Greeks kept no dates, but

a loose comparison of the times of persons and events. Even the accurate Thucydides dates by the years of the war, with some reference to the rulers and to previous events. The Olympiads were not yet established at the time of which we are treating; and they were not used as dates of histories till a long time after, first, I think it is said, by Timæus the historian. The previous method was commonly to date by the rulers in divers places.

A consequence of this invasion was, that Tisamenus, king of Argos and Lacedæmon, with many of his people, then called Achaians, retreated to the northern shore of the Peloponnesus, which was then particularly named Ionia, or the land of the Ionians. It was a narrow tract of land extended along the shore of the Gulf of Corinth; and it had received its name from Ion and his followers from Attica, which was called the metropolis of the Ionians. This tract had been subject to Agamemnon, and probably to his son and grandson. He and his Achaians appear at first to have been peaceably received; but a jealousy and enmity arose, probably from the excess of population; a contest ensued, and the Ionians were expelled. This region then received and retained the particular name of Achaia. The banished Io-

nians resorted to Attica, where they were hospitably received and entertained.

For the same cause, the family of Nestor and their adherents fled from Pylus to Messenia, and went to Attica, where they were in like manner received. Athens valued itself on its hospitality, and as being the refuge and asylum of the unfortunate and oppressed. One of this family, named Melanthus, even acquired the kingdom of Attica. Thymœtes, the king of the house of Theseus, was challenged by Xanthus, king of Thebes, to decide a contest by single combat. The Athenian declined it; but Melanthus accepted it, and gained the victory by stratagem. He charged his adversary with having a person to back him; and Xanthus looking back, he took a dishonest advantage, and was rewarded with the throne of the recreant king.

The son of Melanthus was Codrus, the patriot king, who gave his life for the safety of his people. It appears that the Dorians had gained possession of Megara, adjacent to Attica, and extended themselves toward Eleusis and threatened Athens. An oracle had declared, that the people who should lose their king would gain the victory, or at least the advantage. Codrus in the guise of a rustic went into the enemy's host, and sacrificed his life. The Peloponnesians, learning the facts, retired, as believing the contest settled by the oracle.

The country being overstocked with inhabitants, by reason of the influx of fugitives, the brothers Neleus and Androcles, sons of Codrus, and other chiefs, led off the Ionian exiles, and such Athenians and other people as chose to follow, and settled the celebrated colonies or cities of Ionia in Asia. They built twelve cities, in imitation of those which they had left; but far surpassing them in magnitude, wealth, and splendor. And these afterwards chiefly bore the Ionian name. This migration, I conjecture, was about forty years after the Dorian, and sixty after the Æolian, and one hundred and twenty from Troy.

Another form of the tradition is, that when Codrus had fallen, in observance of the oracle, his sons contended for the succession. Medon, the eldest, was lame, and therefore thought by his brothers unfit to sustain the chief command. But the people settled this question by excluding all, and changing their state to a more popular form. Yet they appointed Medon their chief magistrate, with the title of Archon, but with limited powers and a responsible office. However, the office was for life, and hereditary. And this form continued through several successions. The brothers retired, and emigrated to Asia Minor.

About this time of general commotion also went

forth most of the colonies which occupied all the eastern coast of Italy and Sicily, and much of the other parts of these regions. They went from various places and tribes of ancient Greece, but the greater part were of the Dorian name and language. By the advantages of nature and commerce they often surpassed the parent states in magnitude, wealth, and improvements, and often in luxury, vice, and disorder. Collectively, the Greek cities of Italy were called Magna Græcia.

The next and most important object which occurs is the legislation of Lycurgus. He was uncle and guardian of the young king, named Leobotes in the Ionic of Herodotus, and Labotes in the Doric; but by others he is called Charilas. This was the fourth or fifth in succession from Eurysthenes and Procles, the first kings of the Heracleian family, and may be estimated at about eighty or one hundred years from their establishment. The need of this legislation was a condition of great disorder; and the effect was a state of great order and law and patriotic devotion. The object was to make the Spartans the sons and soldiers of their common country, and to train them to the greatest vigor and energy of body and mind. And as extraordinary effects were to be produced, extraordinary means were

employed. Something strong and striking, and enthusiastic, and even extravagant, appears necessary to rouse the dormant mind, and impel mankind to vigorous action, and to produce great consequences. Whether by superior sagacity and studied foresight, or by those great thoughts which seem to occur by accident, but occur only to great minds, Lycurgus not only produced great effects, but he rendered them permanent beyond example and comparison. Yet his method is simple, and this is another proof of a great mind. It was the simple, but neglected method of education; a constant, vigilant, moral education, as we may say, from the earliest childhood to the latest manhood. The laws were not preserved in written tables; but in the living tables of the heart and character. The laws were the habits of life. This is a subject of frequent treatment, and is known in general; and the particular detail would be too long for the present occasion. The general principles were a community of interest and of life, a continual exercise of body and mind, a high sense of honor and shame, and an unqualified obedience to the laws and authorities; which was simply but powerfully expressed in the epigram, and the action, of the slain at Thermopylæ: "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians, that we lie here in

obedience to their laws." These were Spartans, citizens of Sparta, the capital. The inhabitants of the dependent towns and villages of the state of Lacedæmon were called by the more general name of Lacedæmonians ; but, I suppose, were trained in similar institutions. The Spartans at first were nine thousand, but were sometimes cut down to one thousand, and were recruited from the other inhabitants. The Helots, the slaves, were said to derive their name from Helos, a town of the territory, whose inhabitants made an obstinate resistance, but were finally subdued and enslaved, and whose name was extended to others in the same condition. But I am inclined to think that the name Heilotes was derived simply from *εἶλω*, the second aorist of *αἰρέω*, *to take*, and properly includes all who were subdued and made captives and slaves.

The kings had little authority in peace, but commanded the armies in war. They presided in the Senate, the members of which were thirty in number, including the kings, and formed the body of the government. They were chosen by the people, as vacancies occurred, and were then permanent, but must be sixty years old at their election. Questions of moment, when prepared by them, were referred to the assembly of the people, who

decided them, but without disputation. The most powerful officers of the state were the Ephori, or overseers, five in number, introduced or augmented in power by Theopompus some time after Lycurgus. They were chosen annually by the people, as their protectors, like the Tribunes at Rome, but were more powerful; and in history almost all orders and rule appear in the name of Ephori.

The Lacedæmonians found occasion to prove the efficacy of their new discipline in the wars of Messenia, which began at about four successions from the time of Lycurgus. The government of Messenia had been irregular and fluctuating; but their land was the best in the Peloponnesus. It is supposed that the Lacedæmonians had long fixed a covetous eye upon them, but the proximate occasions of the war were some quarrels on the borders, in the first of which Teleclus, a Spartan king, had been slain. The Messenians at first defended themselves manfully; but the Lacedæmonian discipline and constancy prevailed, and the Messenian forces shut themselves up on the strong mountain Ithome; whence, after a long siege, they were compelled by war and famine to retreat, and the enemy subdued their country. About the third generation or succession afterwards, the Messenians rose again to resistance;

and a man rose among them, Aristomenes, to lead them, who appears among the first of the Greeks in personal valor and stratagem, and in public command and conduct. In his adventurous excursions he was three times taken prisoner, once by Spartan women. And twice he was liberated by Spartan women, and once by a fox. Being thrown into the pit of Kaiada with other prisoners, he remained alive, and, finding a fox there, followed him through a cavern, and so escaped, to the astonishment of his enemies and his friends.

To match him the Lacedæmonians consulted the oracle, and were directed to apply to the Athenians for a leader; who, as is well known, gave them Tyrtæus, a lame poet and schoolmaster, for their commander. But he so schooled and disciplined them with his poetry and advice, as to revive their courage and renew their firmness. They again shut up the Messenians on a mountain named Eira. After a long siege, through a strange accident, they carried the place by assault, and let the remnant escape, according to a rule of Spartan warfare, not to pursue a flying enemy. The country was again subdued; but those who were able fled, and most of them settled at Mesene in Sicily, which remains to this day. They desired Aristomenes for their leader, but he de-

dined, and gave them others. He went to Delphi to consult the oracle ; and there at the same time was Damagetus, a chief of Rhodes, who came to request Apollo to choose him a wife. He was directed to marry the daughter of the most valiant of the Greeks, and without hesitation he chose the daughter of Aristomenes. He took the father with him to Rhodes, where he died in peace, but still meditating war against the Lacedæmonians. A long time after this, when Epaminondas overpowered the Lacedæmonians, he restored the state of Messenia, and built for them a new capital, which he named Messene.

Pausanias writes, that the first war ended in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, and the second in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, having begun in the fourth year of the twenty-third. The Olympiad, or time between the games, was a period of four years.

We must look a little into this obscure and difficult question of the Olympiads. Besides the difficulty of fixing the era of the beginning of the Olympic dates, there is another, and not a less one ; that the earlier and contemporary writers did not date events by them, but that the Olympic dates are affixed by later writers, and with no little uncertainty and confusion.

The Elean legends refer the first honor of Olympia to the Golden Age, and the reign of Saturn, when a temple was there built to his name. Then they descend to the Cretan Hercules, who with his four brothers, all called *Curetes* and *Idæi Dactyli*, had the charge of Jupiter in his infancy. These, it was said, instituted games at Olympia, and transplanted thither from the Hyperboreans the *Kórwos*, or peculiar wild-olive of which the victors' crowns were formed. But Pindar in several of his odes appears to reduce all to the Theban Hercules, even the transplanting of the *Kórwos*, with more truth or probability. He says, that he established the Olympia with the spoils of war taken from Augeas, king of Elis, who had defrauded him of his reward. But they seem to have been occasionally, and not regularly, celebrated.* Oxylus the Ætolian was associated with the descendants of Hercules in their invasion, and was indeed their chief guide and counsellor; and was rewarded by them with the government or kingdom of Elis. He was said to have celebrated the festival with the proper exercises. But after him they were intermitted, and the memory of them, and of the forms and of the exercises, was almost departed. But Iphitus, a descendant of Oxylus, of about the fifth succession, and contem-

porary with Lycurgus, renewed or established them. All Greece was then in great disorder, and contention, and calamity. He consulted the oracle concerning the remedy, and was directed to save the Olympic trial. He therefore appointed the trial, and the assembly, and the truce, or general peace, which was observed at those times. Thus, while the Spartan lawgiver was regulating his people, the Elean was establishing an institution which operated greatly to connect the various peoples of the nation, to abate their animosities and contentions, and to improve their bodies, their minds, and their manners. The first exercise introduced, or renewed, was the foot-race, and from the victor in this trial the Olympiad was ever after denominated. The other exercises were introduced gradually, as they occurred to memory or invention. The first victor in the race, whose name was on record or in memory, was Corœbus, the Elean; and from him the successive Olympiads are numbered. This era is held to have been seven hundred and seventy six years before ours; and I suppose the computation is made from the known Olympic dates. But it is more difficult to fix the date of Corœbus relatively to contemporary or previous times and persons. From the reading, which is rather obscure, I am inclined to

believe, that he may reasonably be considered as contemporary with Iphitus, and probably his first racer. If now we take 80 years from Troy to the Heracleidæ, and 80 more to Lycurgus or Iphitus, 160 years, and add them to 776, it gives 936 years, which is near to Newton's 904 years, and rather nearer to my former conjecture. I am far from setting my guess-work in any point of comparison with Newton's calculation. But so it happens. It must be still considered as conjecture, which may serve for some general comparison and direction, but which is held liable to be recalled and corrected, whenever we may obtain better information or decision.

We left the Athenians under the magistracy of an hereditary Archon, and this form continued through twelve or thirteen successions, and the office was then changed to decennial, of which six successions are mentioned; and then, by another change, nine Archons were appointed annually. By these changes the popular state and interest appear to have been gaining ground and prevailing. And yet it is said that the body of the people were miserably poor and distressed, and indebted to the rich. There must have been some government or power somewhere, to maintain the rich in their possessions, and support

them in their demands. But this unequal condition appears to have been the principal cause of the disorders, the revolutions, and the legislations and liberties of Athens, of Sparta, and of Rome. A remedy was sought in the legislation of Draco, of bloody memory, some time before that of Solon, but the exact period I cannot well ascertain. His laws, if they could have been executed, were a compendious method of putting an end to crime by destroying all the criminals. But from their tenor and character they seem to have been directed mostly against the poor, to keep them quiet in their sufferings, or to repress their outrage. The design of the legislator may have been honest, but his process appears more direct than artificial. In all this long tract of time, scarcely any other events occur to notice, except the attempt of Cylon, who aspired to the tyranny. He was opposed by the people, and besieged in the citadel, and escaped; but his partisans were cut off, in violation of the right of asylum; which violence involved the high Alcmaeonian family in sacrilege and exile.

The legislation of Solon appears adapted to relieve the poor people, without abandoning the state to popular violence or delusion. I do not know that the precise amount and effect of his

Σεισάχθεια is exactly ascertained. It is literally a shaking off of burdens; and I believe it so far shook them off, or relieved them, as to produce a good degree of tranquillity. But it was more agreeable to those who were relieved, than to those from whom they were relieved. This was a preliminary measure. In the government the nine Archons remained. Their power was in some measure executive, but mostly judicial, in leading and presiding in the numerous courts of justice. The main support of government was the Council, or Senate of Four Hundred, afterwards five hundred, who attended to the political and civil interests of the state, and prepared decrees, and passed them in the first instance, to be laid before the assembly of the people. This act of the Senate was called *Προβούλευμα*, a previous consultation. The Senators were appointed annually by the tribes, of which there were at first four, afterwards ten, and finally twelve. But the final and conclusive legislative power remained in the whole body of the freemen, in town-meeting, or state-meeting, assembled. But I think they often took the initiative, as well as the conclusive, action into their own hands, and overpowered all the other authorities. Solon had divided the citizens into four classes, according

to their wealth, partly with a view to distributing the public burdens ; and he gave the offices to the three higher classes, and to the fourth the right of voting in the assemblies, — who soon found that they could outvote all the rest, and were not slow to avail themselves of their advantage. Yet there was a remarkable corrective power vested in the respectable court of Areopagus. Besides the grave duties of the highest court of justice, they had the power of arresting an act of the people, if they judged it unjust or injurious. But the people prevailed over this court also, and reduced and humbled it almost to a state of insignificance. It was said to be composed of all those who had sustained the office of Archon with honor ; and they continued to be members during life or good behaviour. I think it was the only permanent office in Athens, and they commonly well sustained their high reputation.

But the constitution of the other courts, as many as ten, was the most curious and, we should think, inconvenient part of the Athenian government. They had different objects, or divisions of service, made by rather minute and subtile definitions. The first Archon, called Eponymus, who gave his name to the year, might be considered as the chief magistrate ; but a great part of his

duty seems to have been that of a judge of probate. The Basileus had the charge of religion. The Polemarch took care of the resident foreigners, called *Métroikai*. The other six Archons were called Thesmothetæ; they directed the business of the courts, and previously examined the cases, to determine whether they should be entered, and also presided at the trials; but the courts themselves, the judges, or jurymen, the *ἄνδρες δικάσται*, were common citizens, who offered themselves for the service, and were approved by the Archons, and obtained their places by lot. They sat in great numbers, in some very important causes 1,000, or even 1,500. According to the comic poets, they were most likely to be men who had little other business, and who followed this for a living, at three oboli (six cents) a cause, thence called Triobolarians. Yet the Athenians were very intelligent; and they had practice enough; for offices of all kinds were extremely numerous, and business was very rife, in the legal and in the civil administration.

The political constitution left by Solon was said to be the best that could be obtained. But I think his praise rests mostly on his particular laws and regulations. They were the foundation work of the Athenian law, and the Orators of-

ten refer to them with the highest respect, and as of the highest authority. They were also the foundation of the Roman law, as we are informed by Livy that a solemn embassy was sent to Athens, to consult the laws of Solon, in order to the formation of the Twelve Tables. In reading the judicial orations, public and private, of Demosthenes, and the other orators, without pretending to professional study or knowledge, I have often thought that one better prepared, and more discerning in this respect, might find in them many of the fountains of the Roman law, and of public and private justice. Additions and alterations were afterwards made, which do not appear always to have been improvements. But, besides the court of Areopagus, there was a peculiar check on the rashness of orators and the fickleness of the people. If any one proposed and carried a law or an act, he was still liable to an action, (called *γραφὴ παρανόμων*,) of having proposed and procured a decree contrary to law and justice; and the people, or large juries of them, often made him pay dear costs for their previous approbation. The western Locrians had a still more effectual check on the passion of legislation. For he who proposed to annul an old law, or to enact a new one, must come into the assembly with

a halter round his neck, very plainly signifying that he did it at the hazard of his life ; and if he could not carry his motion, he must pay the forfeiture.

Before the death of Solon, his constitution suffered a material invasion. Peisistratus, a powerful, popular, and artful man, rose to what was called a tyranny. He was two or three times expelled, but he finally established himself, and left his power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. *Tyrannos* was originally an honorable title of a lawful king. But when kings became unlawful, it was applied to those who obtained kingly power, though they used it with moderation. And, as they were often compelled by necessity, as well as led by inclination, if they would be tyrants, to maintain themselves by force and violence, thence the name of *tyrant* came to signify an unjust and violent domination.

We read in Herodotus, that Peisistratus ruled the state well, and adorned it, preserving the existing offices and the established institutions. The same is recorded of his sons. But as they were continually opposed, both by the spirit of liberty and of faction, they were obliged in self-defence to increase their force and severity ; and at times banished hundreds of the principal citizens.

Peisistratus, as we read, began with art and force, and was obliged to augment these resources and securities. We have before referred to the literary taste and zeal of the family, particularly in collecting and preserving the works of Homer. In this taste they all concurred, but Hipparchus is the most celebrated as the patron of literature. Hippias, the elder brother, was most engaged in the concerns of government. There was another brother named Thessalos.

The occasion of the death of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton is said by Thucydides to have been a private offence of Hipparchus against Harmodius, which he and his friend Aristogeiton determined to revenge, but with the further intention of destroying the family, in the hope that others would assist them to free their country. Hippias was too well guarded; but they struck Hipparchus. Harmodius also fell; and Aristogeiton was taken, and, as Thucydides says very obscurely, he was not easily disposed of; by which I understand, that he resisted manfully, but was finally slain or afterwards put to death. But Hippias ruled three or four years longer, and with increased severity: till the Alcmaeonian family, as it is said, prevailed with the oracle to direct the Lacedæmonians to liberate Athens.

And though they had relations of hospitality with the family of Peisistratus, they obeyed the oracle, and Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, besieged Hippias in the citadel; who might have defended himself for a long time; but the enemy had gained possession of the children of the family, and to recover them he agreed to depart from the country. He went to Asia, and twenty years after he returned with the Persians, who were defeated at Marathon, where he was slain. The age of Solon is stated at Olympiad 46. 3, 594 B. C., in the common chronology; Ol. 54. 3, 562 B. C., in Newton.

VI. LYRIC POETS.

BETWEEN the Heroic Age and that of Solon and Peisistratus, there is a great chasm of four or five hundred years, through which we have just passed, in which appear but a few fragments of literary and of civil history. The cause is, that the works of that period are mostly lost; as are likewise the histories relating to it, particularly that of Ephorus of Cuma, and five books of Diodorus of Sicily.

During these dark ages of Greece, as they are called, we must not suppose that this people or their genius was asleep. The names of many authors are recorded, and fragments ascribed to some of them remain, having been preserved in quotations.

The first that occurs to notice is Archilochus, whose time is dated between the 15th and 23d

Olympiads, B. C. 716–684, the first date of the Olympiads being fixed at 776 years before the Christian era, though the institution itself was much earlier. He was of the island Paros. He is said to have been the inventor of iambic verse, which was originally satirical; and he used it with so great severity, that some against whom he directed it despatched themselves through mortification. This is also said of the poet Hipponax. But most of the remains which we have in his name are in elegiac and trochaic measure. They are in Brunck's *Analecta* of the remains of Greek poets. But one short piece, in which he celebrates the loss of his shield in battle, which was a great disgrace, is supposed to belong to Alcæus, to whom that accident happened. He is celebrated by Longinus and Quintilian for vigor and force, and is placed next to Homer.

The iambic trimeter, of six feet, became the measure of the body, or dialogue of tragedy and comedy. But the iambic tetrameter of seven and a half feet, or rather eight feet lacking a syllable, called tetrameter catalectic, is frequent in the comedies of Aristophanes. I know not how to account for it, but while the iambic of six feet appears well to support the gravity of the Tragic Muse and the severity of invective, the

increased iambic of seven and a half feet appears altogether festive and sportive, and adapted to the comic gayety and humor. And this difference I think I have observed also in English verse, and particularly in Shakspeare. The English is now commonly written in two lines of eight and seven syllables. But, again, our common metre of eight and six syllables is serious, or tender. The most common measure of *modern* Greek verse is this iambic of seven and a half feet, constructed and read according to the accents. And it is used on serious, and even heroic and tragical subjects:—

“Νὰ ἐξετάσω μ’ ἔμελλον, ὃ ἔνδοξοι Ἀθῆναι.” *

The ancient Greek verse, we know, was constructed according to the quantity; and I suppose was read by protracting the long syllable, in the way of chanting. We have no other way of reading it but by accenting the long syllables. The trochaic measure is the reverse of the iambic, and is commonly called tetrameter, or eight feet wanting a syllable. This is also used in tragedy as well as comedy, and more by Euripides than by Sophocles; and it appears more

* Rizos, Ἀσπασία, Act I. Sc. I.

gay than grave. The anapæstic, which is the reverse of the dactylic, is common in both modes of dramatic poetry. The anapæstic measure is very frequent and agreeable in English poetry:—

“At the close of the day, when the hamlet is still.”

But in Aristophanes there is an anapæstic tetrameter, or double anapæstic, which appears to me the most stately and lofty measure in the language, and is applied mostly to the higher subjects. The lyric verse is seen in the choruses of dramatic poems, and in the Odes of Pindar, and in Anacreon and many others. It is extremely various, and difficult to be traced; and in the hands of modern critics, especially Hermann, the customary arrangement has undergone a thorough alteration. I suppose it was originally adapted to the music, or the music to the measure. The elegiac measure consists of alternate hexameter and pentameter. The pentameter is of two members; the first, of two dactyls, or spondees, and a syllable; the second, of two dactyls and a syllable. The elegiac, like most other measures, anciently denoted the form of the verse, rather than the subject of the poem. Indeed, it is used on all occasions, especially the ethical and sentimental, but as frequently for the

festive as any other occasion. The few remaining elegies of Archilochus are mostly martial. "I am a servant of the God of War, but I know the lovely gifts of the Muses." And those of Tyrtaeus are of the highest warlike spirit. But as the epigrams, or inscriptions on monuments and sepulchres, were mostly in this verse, it has come in process of time to bear chiefly a mournful or plaintive signification.

Before Archilochus lived Terpander, the Lesbian, a celebrated musician and lyric poet, who is supposed by some to have collected and preserved the poems of Orpheus. And after him lived Arion, whose fame is sustained by a dolphin. One or two odes remain in his name, in very short lyric verses.

The next person of importance who appears is Tyrtaeus, whose name is well known, and the better part of whose extant verses were formerly read in the preparatory schools. He was an Athenian or Milesian by birth, but his fame was raised in Lacedæmon, and the Messenian war. When the Lacedæmonians applied for a leader, in compliance with an oracle, as my author says, the Athenians could not refuse, but were unwilling to promote the power and ambition of the Lacedæmonians; and therefore they

gave them a man who was lame, a schoolmaster, a poet, and deficient in common sense. But his verses certainly show sense, and spirit and vigor, an elevated and animating tone, and a well-studied composition. They show that poetry was cultivated in the dark ages; and indeed, as we have said, poetry was the public instruction, and the schoolmasters were the teachers, and often the authors.

The people of those days appear to have had a quick sensibility to verse and discourse; and in the case of Tyrtæus it was effectually excited, and permanently and successfully directed. I have read somewhere, that Henry James Pye, the poet-laureate of George the Third, translated these poems into English verse, and that they were read to the British battalions; and that they produced the modern spirit of the soldiery, which is cool blood, for they composed them to sleep. And, indeed, discourse or reading has been an approved modern soporific prescription. There are, but few remains of this poet, who is said to have left at least five books; and one of these remnants is sometimes assigned to Callinus, but it has the subject and manner of Tyrtæus. The verse is nearly all elegiac.

Alcman was a lyric poet of some name at

this period. He is called a Lydian, but his principal place of residence was in Lacedæmon. He is said to have been dissolute. His dialect was Doric; and Pausanias says the Lacedæmonian tongue was no impediment to him, though it is least adapted to melody.

Alcæus, of Lesbos, was a lyric poet, but composed also in other measures. His dialect was Æolic; his genius was lofty and vivid; he was a lover of pleasure, in his verse, and a bitter enemy of tyrants. He was an enemy to Pittacus, one of the seven wise men, who ruled in Lesbos, and, I believe, ruled well and wisely. He was also said to be a lover of Sappho. Horace refers to him, and a principal measure of his verse is named from Alcæus. He was also a soldier, and Herodotus says that he lost his shield in battle, and made an epigram on the occasion; which may be that which we have under the head of Archilochus: "A Saian glories in my good shield, which I unwillingly left in a thicket; but I escaped the end of death. Let that shield go; I shall soon have another as good." His remains are contained in a small volume printed at Halle, 1810.

Sappho, also of Lesbos, was the poetess of love and passion, and the supposed author of

the mode of verse which bears her name. She was praised by the ancients for the force and beauty of her expression, and for the fine choice and structure of the language. To us there is passion enough, and expression, in the few odes and parts which we read ; but for want of Grecian ears and tongues we do not perceive the elegant juncture and harmony which were so much commended by those to whom the language was native. Judging for myself, I should think the language more rough and hard, and the measure more irregular and unsettled, or unconfined, than that of the ode which is ascribed to her contemporary, Erinna ; and much more so than that of her imitator, Horace. These remains are in the *Analecta*, and also in the *Poetesses* of Wolf of Hamburg, who was prior to him of Halle and Berlin, and in many other collections.

Erinna, of Lesbos, is supposed to have been of the same period with Sappho, but not without question. She is said to have died young, after giving proofs of superior genius. The Sapphic Ode which bears her name appears to me evidently a praise of Rome in its power and splendor, rather than of common Fortitude, as it is commonly entitled ; and therefore to be of a much later period than that assigned to her. There are

also three epigrams given to her, two of them monumental. These are in elegiac measure. And there are epigrams of others in her praise. They are, as usual, in the *Analecta* and *Wolf*. These were about Ol. 44, B. C. 602.

Mimnermus, of Colophon, is represented by Horace, and other Latins, as the poet of pleasure. However, he is an elegiac poet, and is sometimes said to have been the inventor of elegy. But we have this verse of an earlier date,—as early as Archilochus, who is also said to have been the inventor. He does sing of pleasure; but the most that we have of his, which is little, is of a serious and sad strain, but neatly elegant. He may be found, as the others, in the *Analecta* and *Poetæ Gnomici*. He was of the age of Solon, about Ol. 46, B. C. 592, according to the common computation.

Solon was, or might have been, almost as great a poet as a politician. Plato says, that it was observed of him, that if he had given his attention to poetry, and made it more than an entertainment, he might have equalled, if not excelled, Homer. He mentions a further report, that Solon had meditated a poem relating to the great Atlantic Island, in the ocean west of Europe; that this island was great in extent, in riches, and in

power; that in very early times the king with a large army invaded Europe, and overran it all, till he came to Attica, which was said to be then much greater in strength and wealth than it was in subsequent times; that he there received a defeat, which put an end to his victories and his expedition. This was to be the subject of the poem. It was said by Plato, or one of his personages, to be drawn from Egyptian writings, and he gives a very particular and extraordinary description of the country. He places it where the Atlantic Ocean now is, and the coast of it not far from the straits of the Mediterranean, and says it was sunk by earthquakes and convulsions of nature; and therefore the sea is not navigable, on account of the shoals and ruins of this submerged island, or continent. There is frequent mention of the Atlantic Island, and of its splendor, in the ancient times, and more frequent mention of the Islands of the Blessed in the Atlantic Ocean. But this doubtless was all, or mostly, imagination. There may have been some obscure notion of the Fortunate or Canary Islands, received from the Phœnician and Carthaginian navigators. But Strabo proceeds on calculation. He considers the earth as spherical, and nearly as large as we consider it. Then he calculates the ocean between the extreme

east and west of the known continent of Asia and Europe to be of twice the extent of that continent, and concludes that it is probable that there is another continent in that expanse, though he had no other evidence than calculation and conjecture.

The remaining verses of Solon are elegiac, iambic, and trochaic. They are mostly moral and political; but some are given to pleasure. They show a depth of reason and experience, and they express with deep and strong conviction a sentiment, which is frequent in the best ancient writers, that there is an overruling justice, which watches over the ways of men and nations, and will at some time, though late, render a just retribution. We have the introduction of one elegy, which is so singular in its circumstances, and so important in its consequences, that it deserves to be particularly mentioned. The island Salamis, on the coast of Attica, had revolted and joined the Megarians, their neighbors. The Athenians had striven to recover it, but with so much defeat and disaster, that the people passed a decree, that whosoever should propose another attempt should be put to death. Solon and the better sort were very uneasy at the loss of a considerable island, and at having such an enemy close on their coast

and their harbor. He therefore composed an elegy on the subject, and feigned madness, and ran out like a madman, and raved his elegy, and turned the people about, and was appointed commander, and recovered the island; and not long after was appointed Archon and legislator. It is said that he was a native of Salamis, but of an Athenian family; and he lived in Athens, when he was not abroad; for he was a great traveller, and in his younger days he had travelled as a merchant. His poems may be found in the before-mentioned collections, and also in an edition by Fortlage, in a small volume lettered Heyne's *Gnomici*, containing also the *Aurea Carmina* of Pythagoras by Glandorf. Our authors say, that Solon lived in the times of Cræsus of Lydia, Cyrus of Persia, and Tarquinius Priscus of Rome, Ol. 46, B. C. 592.

In his time came Anacharsis, the Scythian, to Greece, to learn their institutions and information. But returning to Scythia, and attempting to introduce them there, he was slain by the king, his brother. His native, unsophisticated understanding is praised, his observations are recorded, and some epistles are extant in his name.

Stesichorus, of Sicily, a lyric poet of high fame, lived about this time; but little remains of him except his name and his praise, and a few fragments.

Of Theognis there are more remains, about twelve hundred verses, of moral sentences, or sentiments. They are collected in a body, though not connected in sense; and were probably preserved from different works. They are easy and pleasant, not elevated, nor abject, often showing good sense, and not seldom good maxims. He was a native of Megara, and speaks of the disorders of his city, from which it is said he was banished. He is dated Ol. 58, B. C. 545, and may be found in the common collections of sentimental poets. The verse is all elegiac.

To him may be added Phocylides, called a Milesian philosopher, of about the same period. There is a poem of Moral Counsel extant in his name; but most of it is supposed to have been written by a much later hand. It consists of about two hundred hexameter verses, and is commonly published with the other moral poets.

Next comes Anacreon, who was born in Teos of Ionia, about Ol. 55, and flourished Ol. 62, B. C. 530. His name sufficiently declares his subjects. His verse, so far as appears, was of his own invention, and may most properly be called Anacreontic. It is light and easy, airy and graceful, in the measure and in the language. But many of the odes are supposed to be of later composition.

He was molested in his pleasures by the invasion of the Persians, and was compelled with his citizens to fly the country. But he was welcome in the courts of princes, and was a favorite of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. He was invited to Athens by Hipparchus, and arrived a short time before that prince was slain. He then returned to his native city, and died at a great age. His dialect is Ionic, and his verse lyric.

Simonides is of a graver character, but yet an attendant on the rich and the great; enjoying their favor, their patronage, and their rewards. He was of the island Ceos, not far from the coast of Attica; and lived in the time of the sons of Peisistratus, with whom he was in favor, as also with others, and finally with Hiero of Syracuse, where he died, at near ninety years of age. His remaining verses are lyric, iambic, and elegiac. He is praised for tenderness and sentiment. Many epigrams or inscriptions, now extant in books, are attributed to him, and among them that famous one which was inscribed over the dead at Thermopylæ: "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians, that we lie here in obedience to their laws." Plato gives him a high encomium: "It is not easy to excel Simonides, for he was a wise and divine man." His date is Ol. 55-77, B. C. 467.

To him we must add Bacchylides, of the same island, and said to be the nephew of Simonides. He was likewise a lyric poet, and much of the same character. A Scholiast of Pindar notes, that these two were his rivals at the court of Hiero, whom he strikes with his eagle beak, as crows who croak unmeaning things against the bird of Jove. The language of these poets inclines to the Doric, or rather the Æolic, or lyric style.

We come now to Pindar, the prince of the lyric poets. He was born in Thebes of Bœotia, about Ol. 65, B. C. 520, and lived above ninety years. He lived in the time of the Persian invasions, and was some time contemporary with Æschylus, but a little younger, according to the common chronology. We have remaining of his works forty-five odes, Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian, celebrating particular victors in these several contests. There are also many fragments of other poems, some under their different names, and others which are anonymous. Many other poems and species of verse are ascribed to him by the ancients, and quoted in their writings. Among them were pæans and dithyrambics. Probably some were superior to those which remain. He was highly honored in his life, and after his death. He had an honorable place, and

a portion from the offerings, assigned to him when he visited the Pythian temple. The seat where he used to sit and sing was preserved, and shown a long time after he had left it vacant. The house in which he had lived was preserved by Alexander, when he destroyed Thebes to the foundation.

The Odes, as we call them, have the title of *Εἶδος*, a Form, or Species, of which name I know not the reason, unless it be a word of modest pretension. The Pastorals of Theocritus are named *Εἰδύλλια*, Little Forms or Species. The victors in the games were held in high honor; they were received with great ceremony, distinguished with peculiar privileges, and thought worthy of signal celebration. But the poet soon passes from his hero to other heroes or the gods, or to remarkable passages of mythology or history. Thus he avoids the monotony of similar characters and exercises, and at the same time he connects them with subjects of dignity or celebrity. The original subjects might have been very untractable, having nothing to recommend but bodily strength or skill. But by introducing higher subjects he reflects an honor upon them, which they could not sustain by their own splendor.

The transitions appear sudden and rapid; but

they are not utterly disjointed. They are the associations of a rapid and fervid mind. The strokes of his lyre he often calls arrows and darts, which may express the swift glances and flights of the imagination. Indeed, the lyric tone of thought and expression is studiously removed from and raised above the colloquial and prosaic language. Rare words and phrases and combinations are sought out; and the poet impresses by quick and living sentiment rather than by slow and formal reasoning. It is so in modern song; but it is more so in the ancient. The hearers were accustomed to this high-wrought style, and it was within the limit of their habits, and associations, and quick perception. But to us at first it appears hard in construction, and difficult of interpretation, till it has become familiar by frequent perusal. But those to whom it was familiar and native expected in their festivals something elevated above their daily business and conversation. The lyric style is more raised, condensed, and pointed than the copious, flowing epic, or the urgent iambic of the drama. The chorus of the drama is commonly lyrical, and often rises in odes of lofty or fervent sentiment.

But though the diction of Pindar is thus raised above the common language, his sense is not so

remote from common sense. I see nothing delirious or extravagant in it. On the contrary, it is often very good, and sound, and strong sense. In a few words he brings out a great thought, which may be expanded over pages. In a concise sentence he expresses a sentiment, which may stand as a principle and rule of life and action.

But highly as Pindar was prized, he was five times vanquished. Every thing in Greece was a trial and contest; and their music and poetry, as well as their athletic exercises, were efforts of rival power and skill. Pindar was five times vanquished in the contest of art by Corinna, a poetess of Tanagrà, on the borders of Bœotia and Attica. But his favorers suspect the prize was won in part by the beauty of her person, and bestowed by the public partiality, or politeness.

We have spoken often of the lyrical dialect. It is that of odes and choruses, and sometimes enters into other modes of versification. It is commonly called Doric. But it is not the broad and pastoral Doric of Theocritus, nor the flat and rude Doric of Lacedæmon. It may, I think, be more properly called Æolic, derived from the primitive language of the Æolians. Nor yet is it commonly the peculiar Æolic of Sappho and Lesbos, whether this be original, or altered by time

and separation. It appears elegant and graceful, and as the peculiar language of the lyre. Yet in different places and connections it is modified by the dialects with which it is associated. Thus the Attic chorus inclines to the Attic dialogue. The same may be said of the language of Simonides, and of many of the elegies, in which it is found intermixed. But Pindar stood alone and independent; and moreover lived in the Æolian connection. His language is in some measure peculiar. He calls his harp a Dorian harp, and his song an Æolian song; and appears to use the terms without any distinction. And it is probable, that they were not originally distinguished. The Æolian, I suppose, was the primitive, and the Dorian was derived from it, and was somewhat changed in the course of derivation. Between the Ionic and Æolic, or the Epic and Lyric, the most common distinction is known to be in the η of the former and the α of the latter; which in these two are mutually interchanged.

Heyne has published two or three successive editions of Pindar; commonly in three volumes, octavo. An edition of Heyne's work has been published since his death by Shaeffer at Leipsic, with additions from his manuscript notes, 1817, three volumes, octavo. This work, like the oth-

ers of the same editor, abounds in learned criticisms, commentaries, and other apparatus.

Another late edition is given by Boeckh, Leipzig, 2 vols., 4to, 1811-21. This also is a work of great learning. He has altered the arrangement of the metres, or lines, according to laws of versification, which of late have been very much studied. The lines in his edition are in general much longer than in the common editions, and appear more musical.

Here appears to be a convenient place for offering a few notices of the public games or contests. They are called Games from the Latin *Ludi*; a name the Romans gave to the most bloody combats of the gladiators, and with wild beasts. In the Greek the word is *ἀγών*, *agōnes*, which expresses the most strenuous trials and contests. They received their names from the places of their celebration: the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian. The Olympian Festival is said to have been established by Hercules. Others place its origin much earlier than the Theban Hercules. It was intermitted and repeated at divers times; till Iphitus, king of Elis, renewed and established it, about the time of Lycurgus of Sparta. In or near this time Corœbus was victor in the foot-race, which was the first and leading contest, and from

him the Olympiads were dated, B. C. 776. They were celebrated in Elis, in the western part of the Peloponnesus. The place was called Olympia, where was a temple of Olympian Jupiter, and the sublime statue of the god made by Phidias. The place was also called Attis. The name of Pisa was sometimes given it by metonymy, and particularly by Pindar and other poets. The region of Pisa, and the city, or its ruins, were on the other side of the river Alpheus. The Pisans at times assumed to regulate the games. But they were generally held by Elis, and Pisa itself was brought under the Elean dominion.

Nemea was a place in the territory of Argos. The Nemean games were said to have been instituted by Adrastus, when he was making war against Thebes. They were appointed in honor of a child named Opheltes, or Archemorus, who was killed by a serpent, while his nurse Hypsipyle was gone to show a spring to the troops. They appear to have been designed to appease the manes, or to avert the ill omen, whence the name was changed from Opheltes to Archemorus, the beginning of evil fate. They were therefore funereal games, and are said to have been celebrated every third year, under the chief care of Argos.

The Isthmian contest was, as the name imports,

celebrated on the Isthmus, near the sea, under the care of Corinth. This also was originally funeral. It was said to have been instituted in honor of Melicertes, son of Ino, who was daughter of Cadmus; who, as before said, was drowned in the sea, with his mother, when she was flying with this child from her mad husband Athamas. They were converted by Neptune into divinities of the sea, Leucothea and Palæmon, who were esteemed by sailors as peculiarly propitious. Nevertheless, the body of Melicertes was cast ashore on the Isthmus, or brought thither by dolphins, and honored with the Isthmian institution. Others attribute the appointment to Theseus, in honor, of Neptune; or join the two occasions together. But the celebration was particularly sacred to Neptune.

The Pythian Festival, as the name signifies, was in honor of the Pythian Apollo; and, as some say, in memory of his slaying the serpent Pytho. There are different accounts of its origin; but it appears that the original contests were musical and poetical, to which others were added in succession. However, the original institution was preserved. I think that this and the Panathenæa were the principal literary festivals. But there were literary exhibitions also at the other public

contests, as appears in the well-known instance of Herodotus reading his history at Olympia.

These were the principal public contests, and had a great effect in promoting the personal vigor and public spirit of the Greeks. They also tended to peace, by enjoining a truce about the time of the celebration, and by bringing the people together in a general association. But festivals and exercises everywhere abounded; and music, including poetry and the gymnastic exercises, were the principal parts of a public education. In these terms it is described by Socrates, as we read in the *Crito* of Plato. The Greeks joined the exercise of the body with that of the mind; and this connection may account at the same time for their martial and for their mental vigor and energy. The particular exercises are known by name, if not by experience. They were running, wrestling, leaping, discus, and boxing; likewise shooting arrows, and throwing the javelin, running in armor, and other military exertions. To these were added racing of horses and of chariots, which were the pride of the rich and the noble. The Pentathlon consisted of five different trials sustained by one, or rather two persons, on one occasion. These were commonly running, leaping, wrestling, discus, and

•

javelin; but they admitted variations. Boxing was terrible, with hands armed with leather and lead. And Pancration was not less, but more so, if possible. It consisted of a combination of wrestling and boxing, and every exertion of strength and violence. The combatants fought commonly not erect, but struggling on the ground, and often the undermost gained the victory. For all these trials strict and minute regulations were provided and enforced; and judges were appointed, who were required to execute their office with the utmost attention, discernment, and impartiality. So important was this office deemed, that in Olympia the judges bore the proud title of Hellanodicæ, judges of the Greeks. And the prizes adjudged were garlands, at Olympia, of the wild-olive of the place; at Nemea, of pine-leaves or parsley; at the Isthmus, of parsley or pine; and in the Pythian games, laurel or apples. These were the prizes of honor, and the rewards of long and violent exercise. But high honors and privileges awaited the victors in their own land.

VII. DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF THE GREEKS.

THE tragedies and comedies of the Greeks are understood to have derived their origin from the Dionysian Festivals. These festivals are said first to have been celebrated, among other sports, with odes, or songs, called Dithyrambics. This name is supposed to be derived from Dithuros, an epithet of Dionysus, denoting his double birth. These songs were wild, and free, and various, in thought and language. The choric, or melic, or lyric verses of the tragedies are the remains or continuation of them ; or rather the abridgment and improvement. The next step in advance was to interpose stories and satires between the songs. These stories were therefore called Episodes, because they were thus introduced. The songs were lyrical ; the episodes, I think, were

at first mostly iambic and trochaic. The iambic was originally satirical, and was probably rude, but sportive satire. The trochaic was perhaps of the same turn; but the signification of the word is more cheerful and festive, if we may derive it from *τρέχω*, to run. The iambic was called Trimeter, three metres, or six feet; the trochaic was called Tetrameter, four metres, or eight feet wanting a syllable; and from that want denominated Catalectic. There is also an iambic tetrameter catalectic, which has been before mentioned, which appears lively, and is used freely and frequently in comedy by Aristophanes. The next step was to connect the episodes, or stories, and to make one continued and varied story or action of the whole. Thence arose Tragedy and Comedy; and hence they took their departure and separation. Their origin appears to have been common and undistinguished. Their difference and distinction may have arisen from the peculiar genius and spirit of the earliest decided authors.

Thespis is commonly named as the first author of any note in tragedy; but his apparatus, and probably his performance, appear to have been very simple. But Susarion is named before him, and is called a comedian. What the manner and

matter of Thespis were I do not discover, but he is called a tragedian. It is understood that he spoke his own verses, and it is a common story that his stage was a cart, or rather a wagon. He lived in the time of Solon; who, according to Plutarch, asked him if he were not ashamed to tell so many lies in the hearing of so many people.

The name of Tragedy, *τραγῳδία*, is derived from *τράγος*, a goat, which was the prize of the performer, or the victor, and *ὕμνῳ*, the song. The other story, of a goat-skin full of wine, on which the dancers tried to stand, I leave to those who like it. Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 500) names comedy *κωμῳδία*, a vintage-song, from *τρύγη*, a vintage, and, it is also said, because the performers smeared their faces with the pressed grapes. Comedy, *κωμῳδία*, is probably derived from *κῶμος*, sport; though we otherwise read, that it may be derived from *κῶμαι*, villages, because it was excluded from the cities. So we read, that the Dorians claim the invention of both tragedy and comedy, because the chorus, which was the origin of both, is in the Doric dialect. For reasons before given, I think that the dialect may be more properly called Æolic, because that was from the earliest times the lyrical language. But these arts were most cultivated, and most

successfully, at Athens ; and therefore may most properly and peculiarly be called Athenian.

Though the apparatus was rude, I think it probable that the verses were often worthy of a better stage and scene. This people were early and constantly poetical ; and in earlier times than these, as we have seen, had works of the highest style and character. The fragments that remain are commonly good verse, and good sense, and wit.

Thespis was followed by Phrynichus and others ; and it was either this Phrynichus, or another of the name, who represented the capture of Miletus by the Persians so forcibly, that he was fined a thousand drachmæ for afflicting the people so deeply with the ruin of their allies.

But Æschylus is considered, in effect, as the author of regular tragedy. From the first rude map he struck out the form, which remained only to be improved. He introduced the dialogue and the scene, as we are informed, and diminished the parts of the chorus. Yet in some of his tragedies the chorus remains excessively disproportionate, and sustains some part of the action or narration. Such may have been his earlier works, and he may have brought forward his improvements by degrees ; which were afterwards finished by Sophocles, who is the standard of cor-

rectness. In one instance, in the *Choephoræ*, the action and event turn on an advice of the chorus.

Æschylus flourished in the times of the Persian wars (Ol. 71, B. C. 460), and was a soldier of Liberty, and was present in her great battles. His brother Ameinias obtained the first prize of valor; and when Æschylus was accused for impiety in his tragedies, this brother defended him by virtue of his own merit, and by showing his wounds.

This author, I think, may be fairly esteemed the father of tragedy, which received not only its form, but its spirit and character, from his genius; which was grave, and serious, and ardent, and sublime. The times also were in the highest degree conducive to such exercises and productions; for they were an awful and tremendous struggle for liberty and for life; which was successful beyond all calculation. The minds of men were wrought up to the highest energy and the most daring conceptions. We may believe that they could no longer descend to the ludicrous sports of the old exhibitions. The Tragic Muse was born, like her patron, in lightning and thunder. And it is said that her author lived like her patron, and wrote under his inspiration. He certainly wrote with great ardor, and in a lofty style of language, — lofty to excess, and sometimes to ex-

travagance, — yet not empty sound, but full of thought and energy. This high-wrought expression, doubtless, flowed from the fervor and fulness of his own mind ; but it appears also to have been excited and sustained by the spirit and tenor of the lyric and dithyrambic composition. It does not strike me as the first exercise of an art newly invented, or as the first natural effort of a mind laboring without example to express itself with power and dignity. The work appears rather to be raised on previous preparations, and to rise above them to higher degrees of invention, without yet being subdued by a sound and correct judgment. We should suppose that the forms and use of the words, and the structure of the sentences, were as remote as possible from the common language of men, unless that people always spoke in studied and labored diction and hyperbole. It remained for Sophocles to temper the elevated dramatic strain with a just discernment, and correct judgment of propriety. It is said that, the young poet winning the prize from his senior, the veteran retired to Sicily, and ended his life there. Seven tragedies remain, and fragments, and the titles of as many as a hundred others.

The Prometheus Vincetus is a wild and super-

natural tragedy, the personages being mostly superhuman and imaginary. The thought and language are often nervous and sublime; but the structure appears to partake of the utmost license, not yet subdued and regulated by experience and correct judgment. I should suppose that this tragedy might expose the author to the charge of impiety, as it represents Jupiter as the arbitrary enemy of mankind, and as inflicting a terrible vengeance on Prometheus for befriending and assisting them. The catastrophe, as we may say, is in the beginning, the nailing of the victim to the mountain; and all the rest is a sequel.

The Seven against Thebes is the siege of Thebes, often mentioned. It is occupied chiefly by the chorus, and by the description of the warriors and their armor and character. The action and the conclusion are very brief, ending with a short narrative of the defeat of the invaders, and the fall of the brothers Eteocles and Polynices by mutual wounds, when contending for the kingdom of their father, Œdipus.

The Persians is a triumph over that nation, or rather a lamentation in the palace of Susa for their defeats and disasters. The catastrophe was before the scene of the tragedy; and the whole work is a sequel and a lamentation. Yet it has weight and dignity.

The Suppliants, *Ischides*, are the daughters of Danaus, who with their father seek protection at Argos from their pursuers. The process is respectable and honorable, and the conclusion is fortunate. The pursuing cousins arrived from Egypt, but the fugitive suppliants were protected by the king and people of Argos.

The tragedy of Agamemnon is the longest, and the greatest, and, I think, the most regularly constructed and completely executed. The prophetic character of Cassandra is awful. And the cool and stern atrocity of Clytemnestra is terrible. She perpetrates the crime with her own hand, and alone, but out of sight; and she exults in it as an act of just vengeance for the sacrifice of her daughter Iphigeneia at Aulis. The paramour, *Ægisthus*, only comes in at the last to rejoice in the guilty triumph. This, I think, is contrary to Homer and to the other tragedians. Moreover, in the play of Euripides, Iphigeneia is preserved by Diana, and appointed her priestess in Tauris.

The *Choephoroi* is the tragedy of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, in which, conspiring with his sister Electra, he executes his parricidal revenge, and is driven to madness by the Furies of his mother. The title *Choephoroi* signifies those who pour libations; the tragedy opening with this ceremony,

Electra and her attendants offering libations at the tomb of Agamemnon.

The Eumenides, Furies, is their persecution of Orestes, and his trial and acquittal at Athens, by the interposition of Minerva. Eumenides, from a word signifying good-will, is an Attic euphemism for the more common or proper name of the Furies, Erinnyes. They are said to have received their more favorable title from their yielding in this trial; and to have obtained an honorable seat in Attica, where they were worshipped by the name of the Venerable Goddesses, *Σεμνὰ θεαί*. It is written, that the author introduced fifty of them on the scene, arrayed in all horrors; and it produced such terror, that the Athenians interposed preventive regulations, and reduced the number of the tragic chorus to fifteen.

Excepting the chorus, the number of actors, or persons of the drama, is very few with this author; and the plan is commonly simple and inartificial. And the reason is obvious, that they were newly, and by him first, introduced; and the just laws of the art were not yet fully elaborated. The dialogue is masculine, but not always easy and clear; and the chorus is often excessively hard and enigmatical.

Sophocles, it is said, was born about thirty

years after Æschylus, in Ol. 71, B. C. 490, and he lived ninety years. He was a native of Colonos, near Athens, where was the sacred grove of the Eumenides. At sixteen years of age, for his art and beauty, he was appointed to lead the triumphal pæan for the victory of Salamis. He was also a warrior, as were all the Athenians in turn, or on occasion; and at sixty-five he commanded an army. In his extreme age, it is said, he was presented by his sons as delirious, and incapable of taking care of his property, and therefore needing to be put under their guardianship. But he produced his *Œdipus Coloneus*, or his *Antigone*, which he had lately composed, and satisfied the judges concerning his capacity and soundness. He appears to have led a literary and philosophical life, in tranquillity, felicity, and honor, in the midst of cultivated society, who knew how to appreciate his merit, and in the exercise of his best talents, in which happiness most consists. Generous and successful exercise is the felicity or tranquillity of this life; not listless and fruitless indolence, nor vain and wasteful dissipation.

Sophocles is considered as having carried the ancient tragedy to its highest perfection. This improvement was the effect of his own genius

and judgment, promoted, perhaps, by the observations of his literary companions. While they rendered all justice to the power of Æschylus, they might perceive wherein his works were defective, and wherein his schemes were capable of improvement. But it requires genius to execute what the judgment perceives and approves. And both these powers, in just proportion, appear to have constituted the mind of Sophocles.

His language is justly tempered with discretion, yet poetical and elevated, and adorned with the forms and colors of imagination. He appears to be the best judge of decorum, or propriety, of that which is most suitable to the subject, the occasion, and the character. He gives to his persons their distinctive character and expression. He produces his sentiments in due proportion, without overloading his action with impertinent or unnecessary reflections. Indeed, he expresses his sentiments rather in the course of the action and the dialogue than in formal and proverbial sentences.

He may be peculiarly called the poet of action. He makes the *μῦθος*, the story, or action, the principal thing, which he pursues with constancy and without deviation. He has a precise plan and end in view, to which he makes all the parts

and incidents and circumstances conducive. He has made his persons more numerous, and his combinations more complex and artificial, and his scene more stirring and active, than his antecessor; and though his language is more temperate, I know not that it is less significant. Yet *Æschylus* was always held in high esteem for the strength and boldness of his conceptions and expressions.

Sophocles has very much reduced the parts of the chorus in extent, though not in power. He has formed them, for the most part, into distinct and regular odes, of moderate length, often beautiful, and sometimes sublime. To our apprehension, they partake of the arduous lyric involution, but not to the degree of the first tragedian. The chorus was stationary, and musical, and filled up the intervals between the scenes. They are commonly not supposed to take a part in the action, except by their observations; but in this way of remark they take a lively part in the interest of right, and virtue, and religion, sympathizing with the injured, and reprobating the injurious and the oppressor. The action proceeds with all its designs and machinations as if they were not present; and they are intrusted with dangerous secrets, which they do not reveal, and are made

conscious of criminal intentions to which they offer no remedy but persuasion. As this part was the original of the drama, and was continued as the ornament, it seems necessary that they should be regarded as neutrals. Yet they are always respectful to their superiors, friendly to the good, and compassionate to the sufferers.

A well-known definition makes it the object of tragedy to excite terror or pity; and for this end it is most proper that it should terminate in adversity. Another makes it a struggle against fate, which is commonly irresistible. I am not sure that any one definition would perfectly comprehend all the possible or actual forms of tragedy. The ends and the means of tragic art appear to admit a considerable diversity. Perhaps the most general definition may be, that it is a representation of a complex action of interest and energy, tending to some important conclusion.

There are seven tragedies of Sophocles remaining, and many fragments and titles. Most of the seven, but not all, terminate unhappily.

The *Œdipus Tyrannus* is said to be the most regularly and perfectly constructed. It is a continued progress to the end and development, against the struggles of the victim; and the end is brought on by his very struggles and endeavors to avoid it.

The *Œdipus Coloneus* is the scene of his death, or departure, at Colonos in Attica. The unhappy man moves compassion. His violence has mostly subsided; but he retains the curse of his family with unrelenting pertinacity. Creon endeavors to carry him off by force; because it was predicted, that his death and interment in Attica would give that people the superiority. Theseus affords him a generous protection; the author, as befits a good Athenian, gives to Theseus a good, wise, and noble character. The supernatural departure of *Œdipus* in the grove of the *Eumenides* is a desired and welcome relief from his miseries. In this tragedy the design of *Polynices* to attack his brother, *Eteocles*, is opened.

The *Antigone* is the sequel of the war; in which this resolute daughter and sister is determined to bury her brother *Polynices*, to whom Creon had refused the rites of burial, which were deemed of most sacred importance. She persists, and effects her purpose, and is entombed alive, and her lover *Hæmon*, son of Creon, slays himself. There is great strength of character, determination, and understanding in the person of *Antigone*; and this appears to me one of the best written of the tragedies.

The *Trachiniæ* is the death of *Hercules*, near

Trachis, on Mount Ceta. .Dejaneira, to secure his love, destroyed his life. This, I think, is not one of the best compositions.

Ajax is driven to madness, because the armor of Achilles was adjudged to Ulysses. He perpetrates frantic actions, though not fatal to the objects of his rage. When he recovers his mind, he destroys his life, from shame and mortification. Some part of this, I think, is not the most dignified.

Philoctetes expresses the proud and indignant wrath of an injured man, abandoned alone to his miseries for many long years, and now recalled as necessary to the capture of Troy, and the successful termination of the war. He strongly describes his sufferings, but refuses to exchange them for the selfish favor of those who had deserted him in his anguish. Here we have the art of Ulysses exceeding his honor; and the honor of Neoptolemus rising over the art of Ulysses. The event is happy; if it be a happiness to be relieved from the deepest distress against one's own will, and raised to dignity and importance in spite of one's own resentment and resistance. This is a work of art and power, and stands high in the catalogue. The subject is said to have been taken from the smaller Iliad: and many of

the tragedies are supposed to have been derived from the Cyclical Poets.

The *Electra* is said to be the chief of all the tragedies, which are extant, of Sophocles, and of all others. This, again, is the tragedy of *Orestes*, in which *Electra* sustains a principal part, and is conspicuous in strength of mind, and feeling, and expression. The decorum is observed of doing the violence out of sight; and it makes the conclusion. In *Æschylus* it is almost done before the spectators, or at least they witness the whole preparation. *Euripides* also has an *Electra*; but he is not equal in it to Sophocles, nor to himself. He has also an *Orestes* in his madness, who appears again in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*.

There are many titles and fragments extant of the tragedies of Sophocles which are lost.

Euripides is said to have been fifteen years younger than Sophocles, and to have died before him, but in the same year. His origin was from Phyle, in Attica, but he was born in the island Salamis in Ol. 75. 1, B. C. 480, in the year of the invasion of Xerxes, and on the day of the victory of Salamis. Whence he is said to have received the name *Euripides*. *Euripus* is the name of the strait between the island of Eubœa and Bœotia. But it was also given to other

straits and narrow water-courses, and may have been given to the strait of Salamis. Euripides was conversant with philosophers, as well as poets, and other literary men; and hence his tragedies abound in philosophical and moral reflections; and he was called the Scenic Philosopher. He was a favorite of Socrates, who attended his new exhibitions. In his latter days he went to Macedonia by the invitation of the king, Archelaus; and having lived there some time in great favor, he was killed by an attack of dogs, and, it is intimated, by the envy of the courtiers. He was honorably inhumed by the king, in Pella, his capital. The Athenians requesting his mortal remains, they were refused; and then his countrymen erected a monument to his memory.

Euripides is considered as inferior to Sophocles in the plan and in the style of his compositions. His plan is judged to be commonly not so well ordered, nor so uniformly directed to the object and the end. His style also is thought to be not so purely dramatic and poetical, but rather rhetorical, philosophical, and even declamatory; to be overcharged with moral sentiments, and extraneous and even unnecessary matter. Just sentiments and philosophy are very good in their place; and their place may be found in good

tragedy. But they should not be drawn and pressed in to excess, and to satiety; *κόπος*, as the ancients express superabundance. Sophocles appears more successful in producing his sentiments and philosophy in the progress of the action, and in the development of the characters and the incidents. Euripides appears sometimes to arrest the action, in order to make a long display of sentimental speculations.

Yet, with these exceptions and abatements, or comparisons, Euripides still holds a high place in dramatic estimation. He was held in great esteem by his countrymen, not only at home but abroad, in their various settlements; and not only in the Attic, but also in the Doric connection: in-somuch, that the Athenian captives in Sicily, who were treated with the severity of vengeance for their unprovoked invasion, could purchase their liberty by repeating from memory a few of the verses of Euripides. Yet he had at home a severe satirist and persecutor in Aristophanes; who studiously seizes every occasion to hold him up to ridicule and derision. He parodies and travesties his verses; and in two comedies he makes him the burden of the song, or the football of the play, *The Frogs*, and *The Worshippers of Ceres*. He indeed has treated Socrates with as little cere-

mony, in the comedy of *The Clouds*; and appears to make no distinction between the captious sophists and the sober philosophers. In short, he spares no one, who offers him an occasion of displaying his wit and humor; and he makes himself as free with the rulers, by name, or with the divinities, as with the humblest citizen, or servant, or parasite. His wit and Atticism are unrivalled; but his liberty, or license, and indecency, are equally unbounded. The boldness of the ancient comedy provoked a public prohibition; and it became necessary to use fictitious names, and to treat of common life and manners. Of this moral and sentimental strain Euripides is supposed to have afforded the most instructive example; so that his insulted Muse finally prevailed over her keen and stinging, gad-fly adversary.

It was observed in old times, that Euripides painted mankind as they are, and Sophocles painted them as they ought to be; which is translated into modern criticism, that Sophocles studied the ideal, and Euripides the real character. This reality fitted him to be an example to the moral comedy; or the comedy of real and common life, and moral sentiment and character.

It is further observed of Euripides, that he was the first to open his whole subject in the prologue;

which is judged to be injudicious; as it is an important object to keep the interest and curiosity alive to the final development and conclusion. This is true especially of the first hearing or reading; and afterwards the interest must depend on the intrinsic and permanent merit, or excitement, of the work, and on the general and successful execution. We may indeed find satisfaction in the parts and portions which are well wrought, even if the whole is not formed on the most perfect model. But I believe we shall find more satisfaction, if the whole and all the parts can be approved without any material exception or abatement.

These are general observations. For myself, being long accustomed to consider what is good for man, and to consider it as the principal thing, I like to read good moral sentiments, well expressed, even if they abound more than the rules of art would require or admit. If the expression of Euripides is not the first, it is next to the first in excellence. If it is not the most elevated and poetical, it is elegant, impressive, and pathetic. Tragic effect and pathos are peculiarly ascribed to him by the Critical Philosopher.

But he is not uniformly tragical. He has at least one tragicomedy, *The Cyclops*; which seems

rather to be a burlesque tragedy or comedy of the story of Polyphemus and Ulysses. His tragedies commonly end tragically. But some have a happy conclusion; as *Alcestis*, dying for her husband, and restored to him alive by *Hercules*; and *Helena* found in Egypt by *Menelaus*. There are nineteen dramas extant, and a considerable fragment of *Danae*, and many other fragments; and about one hundred titles besides.

Concerning the Greek tragedies in general, I must confess that the story is often too tragical, too atrocious, and horrible, for my taste; too opposite to the feelings of human nature, and the principles of human reason. I must refer them to the times in which they were composed, or in which they were supposed to have been transacted. I find some relief in supposing that they were mostly poetical creations, and never, in so high a degree of violence, actual perpetrations. Of this distinction I have seen many evidences. I find my gratification in the parts, the passages, and the verses, rather than in the whole and in the conclusion; in the filling, as we may say, rather than in the warp of the web of fate. The idea of a fixed, irrational, irresistible fate, driving men on to inevitable crimes and horrors, against their resolute will and desperate resistance, to me is dreadful, and atheistical; but perhaps it did not appear so

to the authors, who studied only to produce a strong character and a powerful impression. But the particular sentiments, in the progress of the work, are often favorable to virtue. And as works of art and power, the dramatic writings are counted among the chief works of Grecian genius. I would consider them as poems to be read, rather than as scenes to be acted. But there must be something awful or distressful to constitute a tragedy. Well, then, let it be terror or pity, rather than horror and disgust.

I am probably singular, but I never loved to be horribly delighted. I love to see every thing, every body, and every soul, right, and good, and happy, doing well, and ending well. But in this case, it may be said, we should have no tragedies, and scarcely any history ; no trials of principle, and few exercises of virtue. But in fact there is no danger of this sterility in the world. And since we are as we are, it is best that we should know the truth ; and that it should be set before us in the most strong and striking colors, to deter us from vice, and excite us to virtue. That is true, if it be true. But the same instrument which may be the minister of virtue may also be the pander of vice. As the conclusion of the whole matter, I must say that I consider the theatre as the bane of Harvard College.

SELECTIONS

FROM

SERMONS, PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED.



I. THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.*

AND THE PEOPLE SERVED THE LORD ALL THE DAYS OF JOSHUA,
AND ALL THE DAYS OF THE ELDERS THAT OUTLIVED JOSHUA,
WHO HAD SEEN ALL THE GREAT WORKS OF THE LORD, THAT
HE DID FOR ISRAEL.—Judges ii. 7.

THIS is one among many instances of the great influence of one or a few men, in determining the character and happiness of a nation. It shows that the Supreme Ruler sometimes empowers a single servant of his will with the greatest instrumentality in communicating his blessings to the people whom he favors. By Joshua he had led the people of Israel into the promised land; he had subdued before them the impious nations, whom he had decreed to expel from his earth; he had settled them in quiet in the possessions allot-

* Preached in Boston, Dec. 29, 1799.

ted to their tribes and their families, in a land fruitful in the riches of nature, and in a great measure by his authority preserved them in that worship of the one true God, and that observance of his laws, to which was promised the highest prosperity, and to the neglect of which was threatened famine, sword, pestilence, and subjection to foreign arms, as well as to foreign gods. Their prosperity was so immediately connected with obedience to their God, that when we are informed that they served him all the days of Joshua, it is equivalent to the information, that they were blessed by him during his administration. The principal source of the success of his government was his unvaried regard to the authority and government of the Supreme. The Deity makes rulers the instruments of his goodness chiefly by making them the ministers and supporters of his laws. While, under Joshua, the Israelites adhered to their Almighty Sovereign, their success far exceeded all human efforts and credibility. And while the elders, his contemporaries, lived and maintained the principles which they had imbibed, the people enjoyed the same Divine protection. But when this generation were gathered unto their fathers, there arose another generation, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which

he had done for Israel. And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served other gods, the gods of the people that were round about them. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Nevertheless, the Lord raised up judges, which delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled them.

Here are repeated instances of the extensive agency given to particular men in effecting the good purposes of the Lord towards nations to whom his goodness and mercy decree to send deliverance. For "when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge." Their preservation from idolatry, and from the enemies by whom God punished their wickedness, under his providence, depended almost entirely upon their rulers; and that for a very plain reason; because without them there was no restraint of crimes, nor any point of union, in which the general force might be collected. The people were scattered abroad, abandoned to their own perverseness; abandoned to the incursions of their enemies, who might attack and pillage them separately; and abandoned for a time by their

God, whom they had first and often deserted. Without his presence their whole force was unavailing, and when, in pity to their miseries, he gave them a deliverer, one could chase a thousand; and the three hundred men who followed Gideon with a trumpet and a lamp filled with terror and mutual destruction the hosts of the Midianites, the Amalekites, and all the children of the East, who swarmed the country like grasshoppers for multitude.

The Scripture abounds with instances of this kind. And it not only speaks of eminent men as the means by which the people obtained safety and security, but it frequently represents them as the causes of his peculiar favors; that for their sake, and for his approbation of their conduct, he continues his goodness and clemency to their less deserving people or posterity. "Not for thy righteousness," said the Lord by Moses, "or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land; but that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." When the Lord, at divers times, was greatly offended by the idolatries and distrusts of this people, in the midst of his signs and wonders, and threatened to destroy them, and to make of Moses a great nation, he spared them

upon the supplication of this faithful and disinterested servant. For his servant David's sake he continued the throne and kingdom of Judah, long after their apostasy and wickedness deserved an utter destruction. And when his forbearance was extended to its utmost limits, he delayed their punishment, that Josiah might be gathered to his grave in peace, and that his eyes might not see all the evil that he would bring upon the place and upon its inhabitants.

Thus we see, in Scriptural instances, in how great a measure one man may be the intermediate cause of success, peace, and happiness to a nation. These blessings may arise from his good administration of those high and extensively important duties which often rest upon his discretion and energy. We are also warranted by the Scriptures to believe, that when the Almighty has elevated a mortal to this station of supporting his country's welfare, if he conduct worthily of his wide and exalted sphere, he will reward him by special favor and protection to the nation which he loves and serves.

The first of these positions, that a nation's good often rests in a great measure upon the conduct of one or a few individuals, which is so very clear from Scripture, is equally clear from reason.

When a man is raised to high command, what a degree of power has he in regulating the destinies of mankind! It is true that he is not independent of the Divine government. But it is the will of God to permit human affairs, of the greatest magnitude, to be mostly influenced by human agency; watching over them at the same time, as we believe, and controlling and directing them, where their impetuous and blind course would deviate from his wise purposes. It is also true, that the wisest and best men cannot always control the course of events, nor the passions of mankind, and insure the success of their measures. But how much may be done by a wise and upright government, to extricate itself from threatening conjunctures, we may learn from history and our own observation. What a strength of mind, a sagacity of perception, a clearness and rectitude of judgment, a caution and patience to examine, a power of decision to determine, momentous questions encompassed on all sides with difficulties, and a religious fortitude to obey his reason and conscience, undaunted by clamors and untempted by applauses, are requisite to the character of a good and able governor, of one who takes upon himself the weighty charge of a great people. In him, want of judgment or of infor-

mation may lead him into errors of fatal and destructive consequence; corrupt passions may impel him to turn the power of the community into the bane of its welfare and existence. The evils which a weak or corrupt ruler may occasion are greater than the benefits which one who is wise and upright can confer. One rash step may introduce calamities, which it shall not be in the power of wisdom to remedy. And it is always easier to do evil than good. The evil may be the certain result of a single action. But the good intended may meet with a thousand obstructions. Yet the good and great ruler may be the author of inestimable advantages; by avoiding errors and evil designs; by averting or repelling dangers; by repressing crimes; by promoting and faithfully executing good laws; by encouraging virtuous men; and forwarding useful institutions. Numberless are the blessings which flow from a wise administration. There are times when the fate of a nation seems to turn upon a single question; and he who has the right and power to decide it, and executes his trust to the general advantage, well deserves the title of the Saviour of his Country. There are times when all a nation's interests are hazarded in war, when all the might and rage of men are

called into action ; and here the dreadful question may be determined by the abilities of a single commander.

It is the ordinance of God, and the state of mankind requires, that there shall be government, which must in general necessarily be exercised by a few. Those who are legally raised to this command, who are qualified for its duties, and who discharge them with wisdom, may be said in some sense to be appointed by the Supreme Ruler to a sphere of existence superior to that of their fellow-men ; they have a more extensive circle of objects and duties ; they are indeed intrusted, not as other men, with their own happiness and that of their friends, but with the happiness of millions of their fellow-creatures. For the judicious and conscientious execution of their sacred trust, they richly deserve the amplest reward of gratitude, praise, and affection. Great are their dangers, their labors, anxiety, and responsibility ; and great are the advantages which their brethren derive from their faithful exertions. The reverence which we have for them is natural, and justly their due. They are indeed our fellow-mortals ; and they return to share with us the equal lot of citizens. But when they are clothed with the public authority, as they necessarily at-

tract our peculiar attention, they are fully entitled to our peculiar esteem; to all that respect and confidence which are due to great benefactors, which are essential to the effectual performance of their duties, and to the encouragement of talents and virtue in this most beneficial exercise. If their services have been singularly eminent, the demonstrations of regard and attachment should be such as to do them justice.

It is, as we have said, the ordinance of the Deity, that our brethren should be selected from us, raised above us, and vested with the power of regulating our greatest temporal interests. But those who enjoy the right of selecting men to these stations of trust and honor are under a most solemn duty to choose with serious consideration, without passion, or undue affection, those who are distinguished for wisdom, and immovable in their integrity. For they ought well to consider themselves, as giving their sentence for the prosperity or misfortune of their nation.

Never did more of a nation's happiness depend upon one man; never was more effected by one, than by that great and beloved man, of whose death the past week brought us the sorrowful tidings. He was truly our Joshua; for he answered all the meaning of the name. He was, under the

Almighty, the saviour of his country. Like him, he gave early indications of prowess, zeal, and prudence in the service of his people. Like him, he led our armies against a nation greater and mightier than we, a nation at whom the powers of the earth trembled; he led us to victory and peace, and to the quiet possession of a fruitful land in the enjoyment of sovereignty and independence. Under his auspices we became settled under a government and laws. His example and authority have highly recommended to our attention the fear and service of God; and if he has not had the same power to enforce them upon us, that Joshua had under the immediate government of God; yet, so far as the powers committed to him extended, he has strictly observed and maintained those principles of righteousness which are essential parts of the law of God, and which are necessary and generally effectual to preserve internal order and external peace.

Our chief has left his abode in the midst of his brethren, called, as we trust, by his guardian God, to a more exalted sphere of action and enjoyment. We follow his rising spirit with mingled grief and consolation. We resign him with tears, but we resign him with hope, to his Almighty Father, who has ever been his friend and shield

on earth, and will be his exceeding great reward, and his portion for ever. It is a melancholy pleasure to trace the actions, and to view the tokens, which are left to us, of dear, departed, respected friends. Though the deeds and the virtues of our patriot are alive in every breast, though all can recount his history from their grateful memories, yet love, gratitude, and admiration seek their solace in dwelling upon the affecting and glorious theme.

Behold him in his first essays to serve and defend his country. Here his early prudence and skill saved the remnant of an army, whose haughty commander despised the cautions of his sagacity. Here he gave a presage of that masterly address, by which he was destined to save his country from a superior foe, with a little band of her almost deserted heroes. When he was called by her distressful voice to this arduous and dismaying post of danger, he took it with equal promptitude and modesty. Diffident of his own abilities, he undauntedly hazarded the result of a contest extremely dubious, or rather where cool reason would expect a defeat. He exposed himself as the first victim to despotic vengeance. He devoted his life with patriotic zeal to the righteous cause of his country, relying upon that God

who loves and protects the righteous. This reliance he ever strikingly manifested. A Divine Providence illumined all, even the darkest of his communications, we believe it reigned in his heart, and we know that it guided and blessed all his measures. Uniting the almost incompatible qualities of prudence and decision, of sagacity in counsel and energy in action, with a small army, ill appointed, ill fed, and ill clothed, he baffled his numerous, insulting foes, he besieged them in a strong fortress with inferior numbers, and while they dreamt of fierce assaults and the thunders of war, he darts across the continent with the swiftness of an eagle, and seizes a prey sufficiently strong to break from the grasp of any other assailant. Nothing but his powers could have sustained the war, under every embarrassment and deficiency. Nothing but the esteem, veneration, and confidence which his character commanded, could have bound together the crumbling fragments of a battered army, or the sinking divisions of a quaking continent.

God had adapted and prepared his talents for this unequal struggle. Talents so great, and so singularly united, scarcely appear in the extent of the world, or the records of time. He who had appointed him to this contest gave him glo-

rious success, gave him to triumph in the freedom of his country, not only as the effect of the powers with which he had endued him, but, we may rationally believe, as the reward of his sublime virtues, his pure patriotism, his sincere religion.

He proved the uprightness of his heart, the purity of his zeal, his disinterested love of his country, by his eagerness to renounce the splendor of command, the ways of ambition, and to seek in the bosom of his family, in the mansion of peace, a repose for his mind fatigued with incessant energies, and the tranquil participation of the blessing which he had vindicated by his sword. Again he quits his loved retirement, again he obeys his suffering country's voice, to secure by laws those blessings which he had purchased by arms. Again he relinquishes his pleasure, and assumes the unsought labor of government, elevated by the affections of his people to a station which kings may envy, but Washington only endures.

If he was great in conducting war, he was greater in preserving peace. Adequate to every office to which he is called, to every duty which human nature can perform, he rises equally with his station; every step augments that honor which was already deemed complete. And when he descends from the chair of rule, and returns to the

pleasant vale of life which at our desire he had forsaken, he still rises in our admiration. Though we follow him to his retreat with regret, yet we venerate the man who can resign with satisfaction the highest object of ambition. In the storms of nations he is the lightning; in peace he presides as the sun, diffusing everywhere his animating beams; in private life his influence descends as the rain, and distills as the dew, to fertilize the rejoicing fields.

The head of a free people, intelligence guided his mind, and rectitude formed his heart. On the deepest and most intricate subjects, he appeared to see the truth and right by intuition, by a glance of his penetrating sight; and by a word he flashed light upon the minds of a nation. This was the effect of the habit acquired by a sound understanding and an honest heart, exercised in contemplating important truth, and making judicious observations. We saw and enjoyed the fruit of his integrity and wisdom in his public measures. Superior to all partial, to all local or national prejudices, his guide was justice, and his object his country's good. Sagacious to discern her interests, and firm to pursue them, his conduct has received cordial approbation, and has been more certainly approved by its events, by the peace, pros-

perity, and order which we enjoy, in the midst of a general confusion and destruction of the political world. Even those who could not approve the measures respected the man. Few presumed to impeach his spotless virtue, and if any assailed this fortress of truth, their strokes recoiled upon their own heads. But if any of his countrymen should ungratefully attempt to attach a stain to his character, the world would rise up to defend him. For the world is full of his praises. It can exhibit nothing so worthy of admiration; and his unconscious glory has spread its rays to the remotest regions.

It was an arduous task to preserve peace in the midst of an overwhelming war;* but peace his principles and measures have preserved, and with it independence and honor. And when he sought it for himself in his domestic shades, he again gave his name to maintain it by his valor, if it should be denied to justice.

Talents so great and universal, virtues so pure and humanly perfect, supported by a religion sincere and constant, and employed in services the greatest which man can bestow, could not fail to engage our ardent attachment while they were

* To preserve the peace of the United States, while Europe was convulsed by the wars growing out of the French Revolution. — ED.

present, and to leave us in deep mourning, in heartfelt sorrow, when they departed. Washington is gone! the sad sound groans through our cities, and spreads its hollow complaints over our wide-extended fields. Our temples are shrouded with gloom, our abodes are houses of mourning, and our hearts are depressed with affliction. The voice of mirth has ceased, and the viol and the harp are no more heard in our land. Yet these are light expressions of our sentiments, and of his worth. The sentiments which are impressed upon our minds will remain while memory continues, or gratitude has a name. It is his peculiar character to be amiable as well as respectable. All his words and actions bear conviction of his goodness, as well as of his greatness. May they not only remain the objects of our love and reverence, but may they be the models for our imitation.

Let us sincerely thank our Creator for giving us a leader so entirely calculated for the great, uncommon, and various series of events in which he was engaged; for his unexceptionable conduct in them; and for the inestimable advantages arising from his execution of his divers offices. Let us especially acknowledge his influence in inducing us to fear and serve the Lord, the source of

all our happiness, to observe his laws, the principles of justice and virtue. His example in his conspicuous situation must be attended with no small persuasion. His invariable adherence to the principles of rectitude made them in a degree the national character. And his parting advice gives them a new force and recommendation. Let us preserve constantly in our view, and imprint upon our minds, this sum of political and moral wisdom, as the rich bequest of an affectionate friend. Receiving them as the instructions of a father, as the rules by which he was guided, we shall be powerfully incited to take their sage direction. Let us especially remember, that his experience has pronounced, that of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are the indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.

While we receive this afflictive act of Providence with all humility, we may be thankful that some of the elders, the fathers of our independence and of our nation, who possess the principles of our leader, are continued to us, and preserve among us those laws of righteousness which God

enjoins, and which the test of experience proves to be of Divine appointment. We may be thankful that the successor of Washington is one whom he approves, and who is worthy to fill the office which Washington has held. Late may he be called from his important duty. And may these men be the standards of our choice, and may we fear to disgrace the honor which they have sustained.

We would hope that when this generation, who have seen the great works of the Lord, shall be gathered to their fathers, we shall not forsake the wise maxims which they have labored to establish. A succession of younger men arise, who stand forth the defenders of our rights, the framers of good laws, and the supports of order, peace, and strength, who profit by the knowledge and experience of the elders, who acquire knowledge by their own industry, and who have ample sources of experience in the incessant changes which agitate the world, and leave not our country in repose. But great danger arises from the decay of religion, which our great patriot assures us, and which we must acknowledge, is the only support of national morality and political prosperity.

What the present aspect of our affairs portends is not for me to prophesy. It would look too

much like the figment of a weak and gloomy imagination to apprehend that a sudden death, which might easily happen in the course of nature, was designed to take away the friend of his country, that, like Josiah, he might not behold the evils brought upon his native land. Whatever we may indulge to imagination or to feelings, we may proceed thus far upon sure ground; that if we observe the principles, follow the advice, and copy the character of Washington, we shall take the direction of one who was in all things approved by the blessing of his God, by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and of the world; one to whom gratitude and every ingenuous motive persuade to give all our attention.

II. MEMORY OF THE RIGHTEOUS.*

THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL BE IN EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE.—

Ps. cxii. 6.

THESE words require not an explanation, but may, I think, be usefully and religiously improved. I shall therefore proceed to consider, first, the truth of the sentence in several instances; and secondly, the effect which it does or should produce.

1st. Let us consider the truth of the sentence, that the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.

This remembrance we must view as accompanied with favor. For a very wicked man may be remembered, through long periods, with execration. But, as Solomon says, the memory of the just is blessed. He is remembered with respect and love, and blessings are annexed to his name.

* Preached in Boston, Dec. 14, 1800.

When we speak of remembrance and memory, we generally refer to some who are no longer seen and present; some whom we can no longer behold on the earth. But the Psalmist, in the passage cited, appears to be speaking of the security and benefits which the righteous shall at present derive from fearing the Lord, delighting in his commandments, and trusting in his protection. "Surely he shall not be moved for ever: the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. He shall not be afraid of evil tiding: his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord." He will in general experience the Divine presence and favor in the blessings and stability of his life. For it is proved by experience, as a general truth, that he who walketh uprightly walketh surely; that he who walks with God finds that Divine wisdom commonly leads him through paths of peace and pleasantness. But if at any time his steps should slip, if the storm beat around him, and his feet sink in the miry clay, he may trust that his God will uphold him, while he holds fast upon his covenant and promises. For "the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. I have been young, and now am old; yet have

I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." Though all his views may for a season be dark and dismaying, yet he may be confident that his benign and omniscient Father, who for this moment hides his face, holds him in everlasting, in unceasing remembrance. He is never out of His presence and protection; and none of the terrors of life, nor of death, can separate him from His love. He may hope that he shall soon be delivered from his trouble; that though sorrow may endure for a night, yet joy will come in the morning; that the darkness, when scattered, will but increase the rising joy. Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness. Even if the gloom be protracted beyond expectation, yet a ray of light beams from heaven to console and guide him. Even if it should envelop all this short, mortal life, yet will the splendors of the heavenly mansions be seen beyond, as a friendly star to direct his lonely way. There will he find, that he has not been forgotten, nor forsaken; that the remembrance of him is truly everlasting, not only continual, but enduring for ever; that God has so remembered him as to make him forget his sorrows; and, though long in the trial, yet that they will not make a spot in the brightness of his whole immortal existence.

But on this occasion I would dwell mostly on the memory of the righteous dead.

1. Let us first consider them in their family relations. With what tender affection do we remember our deceased friends. Even when the softening hand of time has allayed the first paroxysms of grief, they frequently recur to our minds, and diffuse over them a melancholy at once painful and pleasing. If we knew not how duly to prize them, if we never thought how necessary they were to our happiness, yet the loss of them brings to our recollection all their virtues and their worth, and awakens all our latent, unconscious affection. The ties of nature often seem to be strongest when they are broken. If we enjoyed with them the conscious glow of mutual love, the buried embers retain their warmth when the flame is extinguished. If any thing in them gave us offence, or abated our esteem, they have carried it with them to the grave, while we remember only that part which is worthy to be immortal. And when their living virtues were worthy of high esteem, then are the portraits which they leave in our hearts most precious relics, on which we gaze with pensive delight, and whose value is increased, as the features are mellowed, by time. A family fondly and reverently cherishes the memory of one

of excellent merit, whose good name only lives among them. Their esteem is inherited through successive generations, and the descendants look up with a virtuous pride to a respectable father. Nor is it, in general, merely a pride of kindred and ancestry. For though there are too many instances of degeneracy from a virtuous lineage, yet there is a good probability that these virtues will be impressed upon the family by education and example; and the respect which is paid to a good progenitor will tend to preserve the children in virtue, and to restrain them from a sudden and total departure.

2. The remembrance of a righteous man is commonly not confined to his immediate connections. He is known, and revered, and remembered, in a larger circle of society. The death of such men calls up their merits to public view; and the frequent recurrence to past times consecrates their names to admiration. A number of such characters contribute greatly to keep up the tone of virtue in the community; for we cannot read or hear the records of them without warm approbation. They excite the generous mind to desire to supply their vacated places, to perform their useful offices, and to deserve their well-earned reputation. Where a people are generally virtuous, their pos-

terity will not immediately squander this best inheritance; the principles received by so fair a title, and with such security, will not be soon lost; and the love of our country, the sense of national honor, and the name of Father, are strong motives for their preservation.

When worth no longer excites envy, when opposed interests cease to provoke enmity, and human failings to give license to derision, then we can join in contemplating only the estimable parts of a character. Excellence humbled to the dust becomes an object of a kind of compassion; prejudice being removed, justice returns; and there is candor enough in the human heart, to wish to cast a veil over the faults of those who can no longer offend. Washington, the most faultless of men, had opposers and censurers in his life; but his death converted them into friends and admirers.

3. Therefore we may remark further, that if a righteous man's motives and conduct have not been duly estimated while he was engaged in action, death and time and posterity will probably do him justice. This is generally found to be the fact; and it may seem strange, that the most impartial verdict should be given, when the means of information are diminished. But it can be ac-

counted for by the obstructions of partial and prejudiced views; and by the opportunities which posterity have of reviewing the whole tenor of a man's life, and judging it as disinterested spectators. Therefore, if a man is unjustly suspected or censured, or not duly accredited, at present, he may hope that he shall receive his due in that future period, which men appear to regard scarcely less than their lifetime.

4. Those who are eminent in public stations or fame have peculiar need of this consolation. They are held up to general observation; all feel themselves interested to watch them; and many from various motives are impelled to misrepresent them. They may be sure that their characters will be thoroughly sifted; and if they are found righteous, future days will not be unjust, if the present are ungrateful. Their rectitude and wisdom may be handed down through the long series of history, and enlighten and animate the ages through which it descends. Public men will be held in remembrance, while others of great private merit may be unknown. Their characters have great influence on society. Their good principles, supported by good conduct, will be spread abroad to all the people, to whom they might not otherwise have occurred; and will have some beneficial

effect upon their opinions and elections. It is of vast importance, therefore, to appoint righteous men to these very influential stations; men whose names we may repeat with blessings; whose lasting benefits will often recall their remembrance.

5. But if the best characters and best actions are ungratefully forgotten, and their examples unwisely neglected by men, as may not unfrequently be their reward on earth; yet they are not forgotten by God, for their true reward, their most interesting remembrance, is eternal. In this examination they have an impartial, but a merciful Judge; who does not, indeed, determine their state exactly by their merits, but who, having manifested his mercy by his Son, cannot be influenced in judging them by any thing but the purest righteousness and goodness. This should be their great aim in life; to this they should refer all their actions, by it they should regulate all their conduct. The opinion of men is often false, and their memories may be treacherous. But here is a true and indelible record of their virtues, even of those that are unknown or misrepresented. It is a remembrance which will never be obliterated, and of which they will not fail, and will never cease to receive the blissful tokens. In commending themselves to human applause, they may be diverted

from the strait path of rectitude. But in fixing their ambition upon eternal approbation, they are sure that it will be gained by no other pursuit than by the inflexible and satisfactory observance of duty. This immortal prize, duly weighed and kept in constant view, is sufficient to fortify them against all the seductions and calumnies of mortal tongues; its worth is infinitely superior to all the exertions and the temporary sacrifices and sufferings that it may require.

2d. I have in part anticipated the second general head of discourse, which is to consider the effects which are or should be produced by the remembrance of the righteous. And

1. Of the effects upon others. When the heads or other members of a family have been respectable for virtue and wisdom, it lays a great obligation on the several branches to strive with all their power to follow their safe and happy direction.

“ Their father’s merits hold them up to view,
And make their virtues, or their faults, conspicuous.”

To become the degenerate branches of a noble and a true stock, incurs a reproach as deep as it is deserved, a condemnation far greater, in the sight of God and men, than those suffer who only follow blindly in the courses in which they have

been unhappily and ignorantly led. Every ingenious, grateful, and affectionate motive concurs to influence the descendants of a good parentage to support the true honor of their families. To disregard and degrade it is a great offence against God, because he has given them every advantage of tender persuasion, of generous incitement, of pious instruction, and of attractive example.

The same obligations lie upon a community which has been blessed with eminently good citizens, especially which looks up with reverence to generally pious ancestors. If a nation can violently break through these strong ties, we cannot calculate the excesses to which they may proceed. In every nation their ancestors have been held in high veneration; and distance of time sanctifies their names, while it conceals their imperfections. In the first ages of every nation many patriotic and noble virtues appear, and deserve to be retained, not only in remembrance, but in strict observance. These, with the eminent characters which appear in all ages, excite a national honor, and should excite a filial attachment to their principles and institutions; and to the country which once enjoyed their love, received their services, gave them her blessings, and now embosoms their ashes. Their cherished memory will frequently

recall their sons from the declining propensity of human society. No nation, perhaps, has more reason than ours for this honorable pride; and yet I know of none that has less national attachment. It is the fountain of honor and patriotism at home, and of strength and respectability in the face of foreign nations.

The founders and great legislators of nations have ever been held in the highest veneration, and their injunctions have ever been esteemed sacred, and in some instances as more than human. And they deserved this respect. For what on earth can be more beneficial to man than good laws? and what can better secure their benefits, than a sacred, fixed, and permanent regard? This reverence is due in all its force to our founders, because none have left names more venerable for wisdom and virtue. Above all men is it due to him who rescued us by his genius, and established us by his authority. We scarcely require any other proofs or obligations to any principles and measures, than that so Washington thought, and thus he desired. But more of this hereafter.

2. We will speak of the effect which the hope of remembrance should have upon ourselves.

The desire of posthumous fame, that our characters may live in esteem after our bodies are de-

ceased, is often as strong as any desire that actuates the mind. It may seem unaccountable that we should have so great a concern for that which we can no longer enjoy. But so it is; and it is proved by numberless facts, in the lives of all men who think of any thing but the present moment. The aged man, who has passed through the varieties of the world, and is on the point of bidding it farewell, is anxious to leave some testimonies to perpetuate his name, and preserve affection. Many deny themselves present ease and pleasure, so desirable to the mind, naturally impatient of delay in its enjoyments, that by extreme industry and exertion they may acquire a name and a praise which shall be inscribed, and viewed with admiration, in the annals of the world; that they may leave something, which shall continually present to the world the picture of their talents and merits. Is it the sole object of this laudable and useful ambition, to raise the hum of applause during a brief existence? This would not satisfy their expanding desires; and they would be mortified to believe that an attention, however flattering, would cease, when they should cease to invite it. It is but little that they personally receive, and this while they live suffers many deductions and embittering portions. This they know, and

often repose themselves upon the slow justice of future times. It is not denied, that duty is a primary motive; but neither will it be denied, that reputation is an unfailing second. This appears to be an inseparable principle, implanted by our Author for valuable purposes; designed to make us serviceable to that world whose good opinion we wish to secure. It is adduced as a natural proof of the immortality of the soul, with how much reason I cannot determine. It is thought that we should not be made to reach forward with so great earnestness to something beyond the present life, if death were the end of our existence. The moral use which we should make of these speculations is to endeavor so to live, that these natural and rational desires shall not be disappointed. A man should be stimulated to make the greatest exertions, by rendering himself useful, to make himself remembered with respect. And he should carefully shun all those faults and weaknesses, which would abate his estimation at the impartial tribunal to which he appeals. It was a custom of the Egyptians to judge the dead, and, according to their past lives, to determine their sepulture. Something like this should we deem the judgment of those who may survive us. That was a powerful engine of mo-

rality; and so may this be, if we could steadily pursue what we earnestly desire. There is no one, however small may be his sphere, who can be indifferent to the esteem in which his friends will hold him after he has acted his part.

But besides his personal wishes, if he love his friends, he will be desirous to leave their hearts in possession of a character which they will contemplate with satisfaction; which will not put them to shame, but which will animate them to virtue, and instruct them in its precepts. A great part of a man's diligence is employed that he may leave some property to his children; but surely a virtuous character and example is a more valuable and honorable inheritance.

If a man have public influence, the motive is increased with the extension of his name. His conduct is of great importance to many. It will be critically scanned by many. Its defects will not be spared, and its excellences will have their full share of approbation. His conduct may have great influence upon the welfare and the character of the public, and upon the principles and measures of rulers. Therefore should he look with the greatest respect to that decision which will determine the respect due to him.

Next to a religious sense of duty, this appeal

to futurity will be the best guard against present temptations to seek a dishonest, but short-lived fame; the best support, if honest motives and sound principles are misunderstood or misrepresented. It will lead a man steadily forward in the plain path of duty. He will be convinced that this alone can lead him to a secure reputation; that all deviations will be detected; and that his firm perseverance will be finally confessed and admired.

This day calls our minds to the melancholy, but proud, remembrance of a righteous man. We trust this remembrance will be everlasting; that it will last while the earth endures, and till the heavens are no more. This day, marked with the death of Washington, is a dark anniversary in the American calendar. But though he is cut off from the earth, he cannot be erased from our hearts. May our hearts be worthy to retain his image. May we never presume to associate it with principles and feelings which his soul would have abhorred. May it be encircled there by the whole choir of amiable and noble virtues which he loved and revered, and which have received new honor and power from his esteem. All that can be said of unfading memory and commanding example is applicable without reserve to our

departed chieftain. Neither the space nor the busy, shifting scenes of the year have removed him from our thoughts, nor made any alteration in our affection. One year! it degrades his praise to mention one year. Through the long series of years his name will rise with increasing splendor; and distant ages will gaze upon it as the steady and brilliant star of the virtuous and glorious founder of a mighty nation. May it ever be the star that guides their course, and, under God, presides over their destinies. But it will be ingratitude to him to remember, and to pretend to revere, only his name, if we forget the great actions and great qualities which that name implies; if we do not so cordially remember them as to feel their governing influence.

Let us remember his unconquerable love of his country, to whose welfare he freely sacrificed all his happiness; for whose honor he repeatedly hazarded his reputation; in whose danger he braved the sword of the mighty, and the more fearful poniard of slander; in whose service he expended all his years of vigor, years in which events of vast magnitude were his daily occupations. Yet nothing abated nor diverted the ardor of his patriotism; and he died while his wounded country was leaning on his arm. Remember his

inflexible regard to truth and duty, which subdued all passion, which quelled all fears when the boldest hearts would have quaked; which fixed him immovably to the principles of right and the dictates of conscience, and forbade the suspicion of an improper motive. Remember his piety, which constantly referred to the Almighty all his success, and reposed on him all his hopes and the hopes of his country; which has placed upon this foundation all the virtue and happiness of a people. Remember his profound wisdom, unbiassed by any prejudice, which seemed to seize the truth by a native affinity, and to display it with a force of conviction which superseded all argument. Remember his services to his country, than which never were greater performed, nor more worthy of every expression of gratitude. I cannot call all his merits to remembrance; but your own minds do not, I trust, require this office. You will read them often in our history, and in their unparalleled effects. We should often retrace them, not merely to admire, but to follow them, though with unequal steps. For we cannot confide in a better judgment, nor in purer integrity. We should love our country the better for having had such a leader. Our love and reverence for this great man and his associates, who established

our independence and our nation, should be a strong bond of union, a powerful spring to the love of their and our common country.

The same undeviating regard to what he esteems to be right, we believe, actuates the mind of his successor; and we trust that future times will acknowledge the rectitude of his character, and associate him with his illustrious friend.

In these great men with whom we have been blessed, we should view the gifts and the providence of the Almighty Ruler. To him should we return our highest gratitude for all the benefits of which they have been his instruments. We should remember their wisdom, and their good conduct, as his instruction. And it is our consolation in their loss, that we can hope that they will be remembered by Him, for eternity, in that day when he makes up his jewels.

III. JUSTICE, CHARITY, UNANIMITY, IN RELIGION.*

BE OF THE SAME MIND ONE TOWARD ANOTHER. — Rom. xii. 16.

DISCERNING men have often observed, that a principal cause of the differences and disputes of mankind is, that they do not understand one another ; sometimes not even themselves, or their subject. And a great cause of this misunderstanding is, that the will operates more than they are aware of, often more than reason. I am induced to believe, that the precept chosen for our text relates more to the will than to the understanding ; as the original words appear to signify

* Printed at Newburyport, in 1805, with the following title:—
“An Attempt to recommend Justice, Charity, and Unanimity, in
Matters of Religion ; in a Sermon, preached in Newbury, June 10,
1804, and to the First Congregational Society of Newburyport,
March 3, 1805. Published at the Desire of the Hearers.”

rather a disposition than a judgment of the mind. Amidst the variety of faculties, education, habits, examples, and situation, it cannot be expected that we should all be of exactly the same opinions. But under the moral discipline of the Gospel, in some diversity of opinion, we may preserve an equal fairness, candor, and friendliness of disposition and of conduct. The precept may be thus explained:— Cherish the same feelings one toward another; the same spirit of charity and mutual accommodation, in which you may agree; and which is the very spirit and life, the great end and work and fruit of the Gospel. Endeavor to agree, rather than to differ, in your opinions. But if this union cannot be completely effected, let not a difference in your views of the truth destroy your peace, and mutual love, and mutual edification. Love to God and to Christ are primary Christian sentiments; but since “God is not worshipped as though he needed any thing,” these principles must be considered as producing their beneficial effects in love to our neighbor.

If the strong bias of the will were removed, we should probably have a much greater similarity in judgment. The truth is one and uniform, though our views of it may be many and discordant. Were all obstructions removed, we should doubt-

less receive from it similar impressions. But as we are, at once weak and presumptuous, presumptuous in proportion to our weakness, it is very possible that we are all wrong in some points; though I believe we agree tolerably well in the main and most essential doctrines. It is rather bold to hint, that apparently opposite creeds may possibly be right in some respects; but that, viewing the object on different sides, we have different perceptions; and our narrow minds cannot combine them, and comprehend the whole great system.

We read, that there were divisions in the time of the Apostles. One said, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; and another, I am of Cephas.* There might have been some difference in their manner of preaching, or of expressing their thoughts; else, why should the disciples have adhered to one in preference to another? Yet undoubtedly they agreed in all things essential, better than we can at this distance of time and knowledge. But what said St. Paul to these contentious brethren? Did he say, If ye prefer those others, ye can have no fellowship with me, ye cannot belong to Christ? No; he modestly disclaimed all particular honor and authority with

* 1 Cor. i. 12.

those to whom he had himself first carried the Gospel. "Is Christ," said he, "is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" "Therefore let no man glory in men: for all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas,—all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." *

Other divisions and questions there were in those days, which I have not time to notice; but I cannot leave unnoticed the advice of the Apostles relating to these subjects. "But why dost thou judge thy brother? Or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." † "Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind. Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." ‡ Here, *the same mind* is explained by charity, forbearance, peace, and humility. "Now the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned; from which some

* 1 Cor. i. 13; iii. 21–23.

† Rom. xiv. 10, 17.

‡ Phil. ii. 2, 3.

having swerved, have turned aside unto vain jangling.”* The questions which then gendered strife had probably less foundation and importance than those of the present day; but the Apostle appears plainly to prefer godly edifying, and exercise unto godliness, and doctrine according to godliness, to “doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmising.”†

St. Peter, after commending St. Paul’s wisdom, says that in his Epistles “are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.”‡ He does not, surely, intend to dispraise this eminent and learned Apostle; but to correct those who wrest or pervert his doctrines. He may refer, among other views, to the question about faith and works, which was begun in those early days. No one insisted more strongly than St. Paul, that good works are a necessary effect and part of true faith. “Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.” “What then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, that to

* 1 Tim. i. 5, 6.

† 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4.

‡ 2 Peter iii. 16:

whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?"* It is probable that, some abusing this doctrine of grace, St. Paul and other Apostles, and particularly St. James, labored to correct this abuse. Though their instructions must perfectly agree, when they are properly explained, yet, as they use different expressions in writing for different purposes, they are sometimes set in opposition. Many disputes, at this time, and at all times, dividing the Church of Christ, let us humbly endeavor to follow the Apostle's exhortation, that we "be of the same mind one toward another." In hope of promoting this good end among ourselves, and in humble reliance on Divine grace, I would offer to your consideration the four following propositions.

I. That we may and ought to agree in charity, if we cannot in opinion.

II. That in several points we may agree more in fact, or in effect, than we do in words.

III. That the most difficult points cannot be the most essential.

IV. That the most influential truths are sufficiently plain to the serious and diligent inquirer.

* Rom. iii. 31; vi. 15, 16.

I. We may and ought to agree in charity, if we cannot in opinion.

1. For we have equal rights and duties in religion. Why should we contend, excepting in the way of amicable discussion, desirous equally to impart, and to receive, light and improvement? In a land of civil and religious liberty it is understood that the rights of one should not impair those of another. Arguments cannot make this truth clearer than it appears in the simple statement, that one has the same right, and is under the same duty, as another, to pursue religious knowledge. Yet this simple and self-evident truth has seldom been allowed by those who had power on their side. But it has always been perfectly clear to those who were oppressed. In this country we are restrained from corporal persecution. But we gnash our teeth, and bite our chains, and give reason to suspect that we should "bite and devour one another," if we were let loose to obey our passions.

We can hold and enjoy our own opinions in the way which we think to be right, without taking offence at our neighbor, and causing him trouble, because he thinks another way to be his duty and advantage. We really injure him, we wound him in a very tender part, in his feelings,

in his hope of that good-will which we all prize, which we all owe, when we permit him to hear of hard speeches that we have uttered against him for sentiments in which he is probably very conscientious. Measures so uncandid break the bands of society, embitter men against each other, bring on a state of general defiance, and drive men to a wider and more resolute dissension. There are actions, and there are opinions, or pretended opinions, so opposite to the common reason and conscience of mankind, and so hostile to their welfare, that open disapprobation appears to be a part of the correction and judgment which our Maker has provided. But on articles where men apparently equal in goodness, where the best and greatest men, have not, after diligent inquiry, been able to think alike, we should be content to think for ourselves, and to show respect and good-will to those who appear to be sincere, and who prove their sincerity by the good fruits which our Saviour has made the test of truth and soundness. From such appearances, which cannot be denied, it is probable that the soundest and most important part of the truth is holden on all sides, and produces its just and happy effects, without much impediment, or assistance, from the appendages which the inventive mind of man has affixed.

2. Suppose that we are convinced that certain opinions are pernicious errors, detrimental to the Church, to society, to mankind, for all of whom we are bound to consult, or contagious to those for whose happiness we are more particularly bound to provide. In this case St. Paul has taught us a better method of proceeding, than that which we are apt to prefer. "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth."* This was prescribed as the duty of a minister toward those who opposed the truth declared by inspired teachers. Quite as much is it the duty of other Christians, at the present time, toward those who do not deny the Gospel, but only, as is supposed, err from some important truths. This method will surely be more persuasive than angry contention and severe invective. The latter course provokes the passions, which are the sharpest disputants in nature, which all the reason in the world cannot convince. When these are brought into the cause, they fail not to set men at greater variance than

* 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

could be the result of cool reasoning. An amiable character, a blameless conversation, and a conciliating temper are excellent arguments of the soundness of our principles, and they tend powerfully to draw and assimilate men to our sentiments, or to abate the acrimony of their opposition. But if there be no other peaceable remedy, we can endeavor to fortify ourselves, and those upon whom we have influence, by "sound speech that cannot be condemned." This is our duty, and in doing it we may hope for a blessing.

3. What shall we do, if persons of different opinions be so connected, as to obstruct each other's pursuit of the truth and edification in the Gospel? Is such an obstruction absolutely necessary? What would be the harm of mutual accommodation? Few connections, religious, civil, or social, can subsist without some concessions. A contrary spirit would dissolve all religious institutions. Those which at one time are most harmonious may expect to have some "roots of bitterness springing up" among them, unless there be a general disposition to "follow after the things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."* There are twenty edifying truths

* Rom. xiv. 19.

which we may enjoy in common, for one where the enjoyment of some would cost the dissatisfaction of others. And the faithful and wise steward would endeavor, in exercising himself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men, to give to every one his portion of meat in due season.* The commandment of God is exceeding broad;† and he who studies the whole compass of his duties will not confine his attention to a single point. Surely it is a less evil to yield on one or two points, and to study them in private, than to break down, and lay waste, and divide to separate fires, the Church of Christ. Our civil institutions, and the reason of things, teach us who may be expected to yield; though it is admitted, that the rights of a minority, as far as is practicable, ought to be respected. Amidst the dissentient opinions throughout our land, this is the only principle, in human conjecture, which can maintain our religious institutions, and public worship, and private piety and virtue. The prospect is discouraging to ministers and to people. We have no hope, but in the Head of the Church.

4. If we duly attended to his Gospel, studied

* Luke xii. 42; Acts xxiv. 16.

† Psalm cxix. 96.

the whole of it, and confined ourselves to it, these difficulties, I trust, would in a great measure be removed. We should either receive more concordant impressions, or should endeavor to satisfy ourselves concerning the truth with more concordant feelings. The design of the Gospel is to produce peace, and holiness, and love. If these are produced, may we not conclude, that an effectual faith, a sufficient unity of faith, may subsist among those who have some diversity of apprehension? And if these are not produced, may we not equally conclude, that faith, however strenuously maintained, has not its just effect in the minds of those who are prone to dissension? We read, indeed, of a unity of faith and of knowledge.* But we do not see it perfect among those who have equal claims to credit. Who now shall decide for all, which of the variety of creeds all ought unitedly to receive? To whom has the Maker of us all given that marked preëminence, that he appears commissioned to explain his will with unquestionable authority? Let it be granted, and I see not how it can be denied, that there is but one series of true doctrines. The question remains, Who holds them? One has a full assurance that he

* Eph. iv. 13.

knows the truth. Has not another an equally firm conviction, and, so far as we can judge, upon equally good grounds? To whom, then, shall we go to obtain the knowledge of the truth? "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."* There is no possible solution of this case, but that each one should go to the Divine Word, and "search the Scriptures" with all the light that he has, and can obtain from others, and with earnest prayer for the guidance of that Spirit of Truth which will lead him, who sincerely seeks, into all necessary truth. We are accountable to God, but not to man, for the use, or abuse, or neglect of these talents. What appears to us to be true, we are obliged firmly to hold, and faithfully to observe. "As we have opportunity," as our station and ability may prescribe, we are commanded "to do good unto all men, especially to them who are of the household of faith."† This general precept may be applied with peculiar force to the duty of assisting others, as we are able, to attain the knowledge of the doctrines of salvation. But this duty, to be effectual and Christian, should be performed with fair argument, not with vain pretensions; with

* John vi. 68.

† Gal. vi. 10.

friendly exhortations, not with uncharitable and unjust reproaches.

Since the results of many humble and diligent inquiries are not that unity of faith and knowledge which we might desire and expect, and since there is little probability at present that we can consent to any one standard of explanation, may we not reverently hope that He who "knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust,"* will have mercy on the sincere disciple who may fall into an involuntary misapprehension? Such mercy our Lord showed on great errors of his immediate attendants. Error arising from indifference, neglect, passion, or will, is certainly not to be justified. But who is the judge? If my fellow-man charge me with sinful error, when I am conscious of sincerely seeking the truth, I might, as a man, — but, as a Christian, I would not rashly, — retort the charge. Let him prove my error.

The passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which speaks of the unity of faith, appears to denote, not only a charitable accordance, but also a progression in knowledge: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge

* Psalm ciii. 14.

of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."* Progression implies imperfection. Most of the similar passages imply imperfection, charity, and progression. Charity might unite us in the common faith without a perfect uniformity; and would very probably carry us on to a greater union of understanding. And this appears to me to be the only way in which it can be expected, and to be agreeable to the teaching of the Apostles. At least, they cannot teach that abhorrence and detestation which are not allowed even against a professed enemy.

The Gospel is given to establish peace and righteousness in the hearts of men, and to prepare them for the love and joy of heaven. "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God." "Be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you."† "Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not; and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descend-

* Eph. iv. 13.

† 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

eth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." * On this subject of peace and charity, meekness and lowliness, bearing and forbearing, I might read to you, and I would earnestly recommend to you the whole Gospel. Love is the fulfilling of the law, and love is the commandment of Christ. This is the instruction which mankind most need; the spirit for which they were made, for which they were redeemed, from which they are most distant; which would be a most pleasurable source of all duties, a most copious source of all happiness. The want of it is the origin of most of the offences and infelicities of human nature. It is a most noble and grateful principle; it is worthy of a Divine revelation and a Divine Mediator.

5. One argument of great weight requires to be more enforced, before I quit this head of discourse.

* James iii. 13 - 18.

St. Paul will furnish it. "Why dost thou judge thy brother? Or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ."* "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand."† Is not this latter part of the verse an indication that God may approve those whom men condemn; that he may approve those on both sides, who are too ready to condemn each other, unless by an uncharitable spirit they show they have not his approbation? The Apostle speaks here of such as actually differed in opinion, and he justifies both parties in following their own sense of duty, but not in condemning others for the use of the same privilege. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."‡

That we are all amenable to the Supreme tribunal is a conclusive reason, a silencing reason, a reason of awful majesty, against assuming the Divine prerogative of judging others in matters of conscience. It is also a most cogent reason for each person to seek with all diligence to know the Divine will, the truth that is revealed, and

* Rom. xiv. 10.

† Rom. xiv. 4.

‡ Rom. xiv. 5.

the duty that is required. It would therefore be a great wrong in any way to molest him in attending to this high obligation, unless he infringe upon the right and duty of others. Being thus equally bound to our Sovereign, we have the strongest motive to serve him together, each according to the light which is given him by conscience, by the Word, and the Spirit. Thus composed, we might greatly aid each other in studying the truth, and obeying it. We should not imagine that religion consists in contention; nor that love to God implies hatred to man.

II. The second general head proposed is, That in several points we may agree more in fact, or in effect, than we do in words.

This may be thought a bold assertion. But there have been many long disputes consisting of mere words; and I have for some time thought that I could perceive something of the kind in religious disputes. Some real difference, I suppose, there is in the objects of belief; more, in the forms of expression; but less, in the practice of sober believers. It will not be expected, that in these deep and intricate matters I shall give a very complete solution of difficulties that have perplexed the wisest or the deepest heads. I would only attempt to throw out some cursory

hints, which may tend to the object of the discourse, to persuade men that they may "be of the same mind one to another."

1. With this view let us firstly consider the doctrine of human depravity. Few serious minds, I think, will deny the sinful state of mankind. The Scripture has concluded all under sin. And when they compare their hearts and lives with the law of God, or the light of conscience, they will be compelled to acknowledge many sins, and much propensity to evil, much aversion to good, especially to the sentiments and duties of piety. They will be more sensible of these evil propensities when they attempt a reformation. They will find them often prevailing over their resolutions, and seeming to make a more violent struggle as their dominion is more firmly attacked. We agree better as to the fact than the cause of our condition. We ought to be willing and desirous to know the whole truth, to know the worst of ourselves. My present business is not to decide, but, as far as possible, to reconcile. Now the most important question is, not how we fell into this state, but how we may escape from it. If your house were on fire, you would not delay your exertions, nor refuse the assistance that was kindly offered to extinguish it, till you could as-

certain in what manner the fire was kindled. Nor would those who wished to help you refuse their aid till you could determine, whether it were occasioned by your carelessness, or by a fault in the original structure of the house. I presume that most men who have thought of their ways are sensible of their sins and their danger; that they feel themselves guilty before God, and liable to his righteous judgment; that they pretend to no hope of pardon, peace, and amendment, but in the "grace of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, and by the renewing of the Holy Spirit." These appear to be the most influential parts of the doctrines of depravity and salvation; they afford sufficient reasons and motives for repentance, faith, and reformation; and in the different systems that are formed, these are the leading principles which produce the desired effects. Whatever we may be able to determine concerning the origin of our sins, those which we have wilfully committed should undoubtedly occasion the deepest penitence; and a great cause of offence toward our Sovereign, and a great reason for grief in ourselves, is, that we neglect the grace of the Gospel, which was given to restore the ruins of the human mind. Is there not good reason to hope, that there are believers

on both sides of this dark question whose repentance, faith, and obedience are sincere and accepted? At least, it becomes those who are together sinful and ignorant to be humble, modest, and tolerant.

Again, we differ as to the measure, or description, of depravity. I imagine that the difference is chiefly in the choice of words. Some actions are manifest violations of the laws of God. Concerning these there is no dispute. They are evidently sinful. Other actions, in the matter of them, are not opposite to the laws of God, but are correspondent to his requirements. Such are those of tilling the ground, and providing for a family. Now, it is a question whether these are sinful in a person who has not the true, religious, Christian principle. And why are they called sinful? I have supposed that the reason given is, that they are not performed upon the right principle, which is love of God. We shall acknowledge that we ought to be governed by a love and reverence of the Deity, and, we will add, by a faith in Christ. The only question is, whether, through the defect of first principles, an action is to be deemed sinful which is performed upon other motives, inferior, though not opposite, but agreeable, to the will of God. We have

nearly the same views both of the man and of the action. I think we shall agree that it is better for any man to till his ground, and take care of his family, than to be wholly inactive for fear of committing sin. We shall also agree, that it is the duty of man frequently to contemplate the perfections and commands of God, and to cherish the sentiments which these perfections require; that in our fallen state, faith in Christ is the indispensable method of attaining acceptance with God, and a life of true religion; that these principles should dwell and rule in our hearts, and often occupy our thoughts, should influence and direct our actions, leading us to inquire, whether we are doing the will of God, trusting in him for the event, and submitting sincerely to his determination. We shall agree further, that man, as he is found, is "alienated from the life of God," a life acceptable to God; that he "forgets and forsakes the God that made him"; often fearlessly transgresses his laws; and that in actions which are not direct transgressions, other motives occupy all that regard which is primarily due to Divine authority. And, I doubt not, we shall generally agree, that we have no hope of escaping from this condition and its consequences, but by the mercy of God, as it is displayed in the mediation

of Jesus Christ. It appears to me, that our real views of human nature, our knowledge of facts, must be nearly the same; and that we differ only concerning the terms which are most proper to express our condition. But why should we differ about a word, or a degree of depravity, when we are conscious of depravity enough to require a deep repentance, an earnest desire of amendment, and a humble reliance on Divine grace? We should obtain the most correct and salutary views of our state by attending to facts, rather than to general and vague descriptions. By learning from the Divine Word what we owe to God, and learning from our consciences wherein we come short of our duty, we shall probably feel a more sincere and effectual repentance, than in any general confessions of sin, in which we may not perceive our particular transgressions.

2. We will next humbly consider the doctrine of Divine decrees. This is an awful subject, and should be treated with caution and fear. We should be willing to leave this to Him, whose right it is, satisfied that he decrees infinitely more wisely and justly than we can reason. Yet on this very high and unsearchable subject, which is involved in the thick darkness that He makes his pavilion, we are too apt to be presumptuous and

positive, and ready to condemn those who are of a different opinion. On a subject so far above our reach, it would be reasonable to be most humble and candid.* We generally believe, that unlimited foreknowledge of all events, and of the condition of all creatures, is essential to infinite perfection. Some think, that this foreknowledge necessarily implies a predestination, especially of the spiritual condition of mankind. Others, again, think that foreknowledge may be consistent with liberty of action in the creature, if the Creator saw fit to form him free and accountable. And if he is accountable, they think that he must in reason and justice be free. Now this question of the distinction between foreknowledge and foreordination is extremely subtle and incomprehensible. It turns upon knowledge, which the mind of man cannot apprehend, upon the infinite knowledge of the Deity. Can we believe, that his salvation turns upon his solution of this inaccessible question? I think we should all be ready to hope and believe that salvation is proposed to mankind as to free beings, unless we thought that the Scriptures teach a different doctrine. There are strong expressions in the Scriptures concerning predestination and election. Different explanations are given of them. I cannot see,

why they are not all solved by the expression of St. Peter, "elect according to the foreknowledge of God," or that of St. Paul, "whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate"; according to the foreknowledge of their conduct under the advantages with which they are favored. But whether we believe that the election is conditional, or unconditional, the effect and the proceeding must be nearly the same in sound minds. Consider any number of persons, who have not yet ground to hope that they are partakers of the redemption which is in Jesus Christ. Now it appears to me, that their situation, in their own minds, and in their hopes, is the same, whether the doctrine of particular election be true or not: How can any of them know whether they are to be saved, or rejected, but by the influence of the Word and the Spirit in their hearts and lives? Thus they will be disposed to attend seriously to the call of the Gospel, and to the Divine threatenings and promises. They will feel a concern on account of their sins, "a repentance toward God, a faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ," an anxious desire of pardon and renovation. They will be led, in reliance on Divine grace, to renounce their sins, and to "walk in newness of life"; "that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they may live soberly,

righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Something like this, I presume, is the process and evidence of a saving work upon supposition of the doctrine of predestination. And this, I think, is the process in the minds of those who cannot believe that doctrine in the strictest sense. In both cases to all appearance we stand as probationers; in both cases we proceed by the use of our faculties and opportunities. Since, then, we must agree in that which belongs to us to perceive, why should we be at variance on account of that which belongs to God alone.

There is indeed a question remaining on this subject, of some apparent importance, whether we can do any thing towards attaining to a Christian faith and life. But if any think they cannot, they would not, probably, judge it the best and most safe way of salvation, to neglect the word and the institutions of God, and to continue accumulating known sins without restraint, till they shall be irresistibly seized and compelled to a new and better life. This being granted, we shall not greatly differ.

It is sometimes said to be a great consolation to believers, to be assured that they are elected

unto everlasting life. But it is not peculiar to one belief. If a man have experienced a gracious change of heart and of life, he may equally take the comfort of it, whether he believe that he was elected to it, or that he was brought into it by the operation of the Spirit on the free mind. On the other hand, if one, who has thought that he had great evidences in himself, should continue in gross and allowed sins, and should conduct in a manner utterly unworthy of the name he has taken, would any man in his right mind say, that he has reason for comfort and assurance? No, it may be answered, he was never truly converted, and does not give good proof of his election. Well, then, the proof rests not only on the exercises of faith, but also on their influence over the life, producing a solid piety and a substantial virtue. Here we all place it. And the pleasure and benefit of it we can equally enjoy, though we have different apprehensions of the holy decrees of God.

3. We will now proceed to the long-contested question of faith and works. Here I see no ground for difference. If there be any, it must be made by a misunderstanding. Neither does one party plead for a faith without works, nor the other for works without faith. I speak of the sober-minded and sincere believers, who really wish to

know, and receive, and obey the truth. What, then, is the difference? In my view it is very much like other differences, chiefly in the way of speaking. "We are justified by faith without the deeds of the law." So says St. Paul; and so, I think, we are all ready to say, when the doctrine is rationally and Scripturally explained. We are not justified by the law, because we do not obey it. We are "justified freely by grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ." "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." This purpose is effected "through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth." These truths are objects of faith. When our faith is so strong, when, by the Spirit, the truths of the Gospel are so deeply impressed upon the mind as to produce a conviction of sin, an earnest desire and consoling hope of mercy through the Redeemer, and to lead us to a new life of godliness, goodness, and purity, then it may be deemed a faith by which we are justified, or rather, a faith through which we are saved by grace. This, we believe, is such a faith as St. Paul intends, and such as serious and sound minds on both sides maintain. While some hold, that we are justified by faith, they mean a faith which

is proved by a good life. While others say, that a good life is necessary to salvation, they view faith as the principle of that life. These are only different modes of stating the same doctrine. The only question is, whether the justification is to be attributed to the faith considered *abstractedly* from the works, or to the faith considered *connectedly* with the works. This subtle and useless question bred great dissension in the early days of the Reformation. And it appears to me to be the principal difference on the subject at the present day. But why need we perplex ourselves and others with these subtilties, when it is agreed on all hands, that faith and works are intimately connected, that faith without works is dead, as St. James says, and that our works without faith are insufficient for justification, as St. Paul teaches? These inspired writers, unquestionably, agree in doctrine; and it is through our weakness, if they appear to us to differ. St. Paul undoubtedly means a faith which is attended with the proper effects of faith; and St. James, in order to correct mistakes, declares that no faith is sound, but that which is attended with these good effects.

“In the Church,” says the Apostle, “I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten

thousand words in an unknown tongue." Yet a criticism on a passage of St. James appears to be so apposite to the present subject, that I cannot omit it. "Show me thy faith *without* thy works, and I will show thee my faith *by* my works." * In the original, precisely the same words are used in both members of the sentence, only they are differently arranged. I will give you a translation of them, word for word, and in the same order in which they originally stand: "Show me thy faith *'by* thy works, and I will show thee by my works my faith." The sense I take to be this. You insist upon faith; I insist upon works. We have no reason to disagree. Let your *faith* be shown by your works; and by my *works* I will show my faith. The doctrine is exactly stated in a subsequent verse of the same chapter. "Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect." Faith was the principle, works were the proper effect and proof.

It can hardly be doubted, that sober believers essentially agree in this article. Surely, we mistake each other, when on the one side we suspect others to imagine that faith, without regard to

* James ii. 18. The preposition ἐκ is used in both clauses. It commonly signifies *by* or *from*, as in the phrase, "being justified *by* faith." *Without* is expressed by χωρίς, ἀνευ, ἔξω.

works, or a virtuous life, "can save them"; and when on the other side we charge the first with expecting, that their virtues will merit salvation without regard to mercy and the Divine dispensations. Yet there may be danger on both sides. We may dwell so entirely on our faith, as to neglect that attention to our conduct which faith and grace require, as to exhibit many things in our lives opposite to the life of Christ and the spirit of the Gospel. And, on the other hand, by resting entirely on our morality, we may not feel those sentiments toward God and Christ which are necessary to salvation; we may not feel those motives and aids which are necessary to perfect our virtue; finding how little we attain, we may be inclined to reduce the standard of virtue to a very low degree, to a degree little consonant to the law of God and eternal life.

4. We will humbly attempt to consider the doctrine of regeneration. The influence of the Holy Spirit in the work of renewing the hearts and lives of mankind is, I think, taught in those passages which speak of being "born of the spirit," and "led by the spirit of God," and "sanctified by the spirit of our God." The end and effect of it is understood to be a change from a state of sin and offence toward the Holy God, and of ex-

posure to his judgment, to a state of pardon and favor, of growing holiness, and of the hope of heaven, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. We have reason to be devoutly thankful for the assurance, that we are not left comfortless and without help in this important work. And we ought to be content with those promises and doctrines which are given in the Gospel, to teach us our dependence, and animate our hopes. But the curious mind of man, ever more intent upon subtle questions than upon plain and important duties, runs perpetually into those minute distinctions and descriptions concerning the unsearchable works of the infinite and invisible God, which are not so much warranted by his revelation, as in treatises which appear to be designed to explain more particularly what in the Scriptures is declared in general, but forcible expressions. The Scriptures appear to inculcate a general sentiment of dependence on the influence of the Spirit. But we have raised several questions and doctrines on the subject; as, whether the mind be active or passive in conversion; whether conversion be instantaneous or gradual. It may be observed, in passing, that we find in the Bible few of those terms with which we contend, and encumber religion, and bewilder ourselves and others.

Concerning the active or passive state of the mind, whether we can or cannot do any thing toward believing and obeying, I should say at once, that the Deity gives us power, and requires us to use it; he gives us means, and requires us to employ them; and I should appeal to all those passages, which call upon us to hear, to ask, to strive, to receive the Gospel and obey it, and those that "condemn men for loving darkness rather than light." But if it be believed that we have no activity nor choice of our own in the work of regeneration, there is not the vast difference that may be imagined in the real perceptions and proceedings of the mind. For the work of the Spirit proceeds by the natural faculties of the mind, enlightening the understanding, governing the will, alarming our fears, raising our hopes, turning our affections from sin to godliness. Now this process, these perceptions, this consciousness, will be the same, whether it be true that the work of the spirit excludes, or admits, our freedom and moral agency. On the supposition that we have no choice, that the Spirit is the sole agent, I presume it will be allowed by all sober minds, that the appearance will be that of acting rationally from the influence of powerful motives. To admit our free choice does not imply that we are sufficient for

our salvation without the power of God. And while we trust in his power, we must unavoidably act on the plan of free agency.

Sometimes it is said that, if men think they cannot do any thing as of themselves, they may continue too careless of their conduct, and of the means of grace, before they obtain a hope of salvation; and that they may continue too careless, also, after they have obtained this hope. But this is not generally the case of those who have any concern for their salvation. They do attend to the means. They attend to the word of God, and to the public offices of religion; they think of their ways, they desire to be saved by grace through faith, they often seek this happiness with prayers, or silent aspirations of the heart. And when they have ground to hope that they have found grace, they watch and guard their conduct, that it may not darken their hopes. For if their lives are not agreeable to the end of faith and of the Gospel, they must in reason and conscience apprehend that their conversion was imaginary. Now these are the very means to be used, the very course to be pursued, by those who believe in the free agency of the human mind.

In regard to the mode of conversion, experience would teach us that it may be various. I sup-

pose that all who have the faith and spirit of Christianity can well recollect, that they have been brought to serious reflection, to sincere repentance, to the earnest prayer of faith for the remission of their sins; and that they have some consoling evidence, that the grace of God has taught their souls to live. The question concerning instantaneous conversion is rather curious than necessary. In some the preparation has been more, in others less progressive. But the most sudden conversion requires some time and means. In the more gradual, it may be remembered, that there was a time when the Christian life was more particularly begun. If it be all-important to become Christians, the sooner it is effected, the more blessed is our condition. And no one would hesitate to exhort and encourage men to apply themselves without delay to repent, to believe, and to practise according to the Gospel.

To conclude this head of discourse, we may infer from what has been said, that we agree in fact sufficiently to live together in peace, and to be edified together as Christians. But we are apt to lay the greatest stress on subjects the most difficult to be solved, least susceptible of proof, and least promotive of "righteousness and true holiness." We seem to think that religion consists rather in

settling and defending matters of "doubtful disputation," than in maintaining a Christian temper, Christian virtues, Christian sentiments, which are love to God, to Christ, and to mankind. We are ready to say, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, when we ought all to say, I am of Christ. We are informed that one is our Master, even Christ, and all we are, or ought to be, brethren. But we choose our master among men, and are zealous to follow him through tangled thickets and bottomless sloughs, over cloudcapt mountains and down tremendous precipices, while we neglect to cultivate the fair and open, the pleasant and fruitful fields of Christian love and duty. These doubtful disputations have harassed the Church through all ages. Synods and Councils have met, and have decided them with clamors and threats, an oppressed minority being terrified and silenced by an overbearing majority, or by powerful chiefs, armed with the sword of the magistrate. And in proportion to the doubts and darkness attending the questions have the decisions been enforced as the most fixed and indispensable truths, so indispensable as to supersede all claims of conscience. On these subjects we contend with greater zeal than against our own or others' vices. Hence it is justly called polem-

ical divinity, hostile religion! The Gospel of peace is made by the passions of men to bring "a sword upon the earth." The religion of love is soured and corrupted with the "leaven of malice." When this is the case, is there not room to suspect that the will and the passions influence the judgment, as much as the reason and conscience, of men? Is there not reason to believe, that, with more meekness, humility, and honest desire to receive the truth, as we find it revealed, we should derive more uniform sentiments from that Scripture, which "is given by inspiration," and is designed to be profitable *to all* "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness"? At least, we should be more pacific in our pursuit of those doctrines which are wrapped in awful mystery; and should be more unitedly attentive to those practical principles and rules which form the life and soul of Christianity. These observations, whether just or not, are made upon human nature, and I cannot acquit myself of my portion.

III. We come now to observe, that the most difficult points cannot be the most essential.

The faith of an ancient writer ran very high, when he said, I believe, because it is impossible. Faith is a word often used, but the description of it is long and various. One notion of it is, the

reception of doctrines incomprehensible by reason. Truly, we may consent to receive doctrines clearly expressed and supported by Divine testimony, although the reasons of them may transcend our finite understanding. But if they may be understood in consistency with the Divine Word, there is no necessity of throwing over them an impervious veil of mystery, for the sake of exercising our faith. The feeling of Naaman the Syrian was not unnatural, when he would more readily have done some great thing, than obey the simple command to wash and be clean. But there is enough to be done in becoming a Christian, enough to occupy all our thoughts and efforts, in learning and applying to ourselves, under Divine influence, those plain principles and precepts which are given to form the heart and life of a Christian. The mind may be diverted from these clear, but most important truths, when it is wholly "exercised in great matters." When we consider those "high things" as the most essential, we may be too much disposed to neglect the practical sentiments and duties, which are the only conceivable ends in this world for which the Gospel was given. Our aspiring minds are flattered by endeavoring to penetrate into intricate subjects; while those truths which may be easily understood are too

uninteresting to us to excite attention. The more abstruse inquiries may indeed be pursued with humility and caution, to exercise and enlarge the mind in the knowledge of the Divine revelations. But they should ever be considered as less necessary to religion than those plainer truths which are most effectual to influence and direct the mind; and especially, they should never be employed to supersede and defeat the main end of our holy religion, the benevolence, the virtues, the piety of believers.

How can it be imagined, that the salvation of mankind should be made by a gracious Creator to depend on their view of doctrines, which have tried the best faculties in their best exercise, on which men who appear among the best and wisest of our race have formed very different judgments? How can the perfectly correct decision of them be required, upon the greatest penalty, of the great body of mankind, who are so occupied in necessary cares and duties, that their judgment on these subjects must be formed almost implicitly upon that of those who have more means of examining and establishing systems. It will probably be said, that the knowledge of the truth is inwrought by a Divine influence; that we shall readily receive the truth, when we are truly "taught of God."

We hope the Spirit of Truth, which guided the first publishers of the Gospel into all truth, will even now help the humble and sincere disciple into all that is necessary to his spiritual welfare. But who shall claim this guidance as a peculiar privilege? One man may hold it as convincing proof to himself. And another may trust and declare, that he has the same evidence for different doctrines. They may be satisfied for themselves; but this argument will not satisfy others, who know the nature of man and the rights of conscience. All who know the history of religion know that this argument has been often employed to support every kind of tenets which we should agree in thinking wild extravagances. There is, therefore, no safe way of seeking the truth, but by studying the word which God has given us, with the understanding which he has given us for this purpose. In doing this with sincere attention and dependence, we may hope to be blessed with Divine guidance.

“The secret things,” said Moses, “belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.” The things here mentioned, as belonging to the people, are their duties. The subjects on which

we pore and differ most are among those secret things which belong to the Lord our God. They relate to his essence, decrees, and operations. The Scriptures do not appear to be designed to gratify our curiosity by a full disclosure of things which probably our feeble minds could not comprehend; but rather to give general and constant impressions of the Divine presence, providence, government, and grace; and to inculcate general sentiments of dependence, fear, love, and confidence; and thus to animate us to the performance of the things that belong to us. I doubt not, that it may be shown that some diversity of thinking, or of speaking, in regard to the secret things of the Deity, may issue in the same effect in the evident duties of man, repentance, faith, and obedience. And we may humbly hope that a merciful God will not make our trial turn upon perfect and adequate ideas of his unsearchable ways and incomprehensible perfections. The inspired Psalmist said, "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty; neither do I exercise myself in great matters, nor in things too high for me." And the whole verse, in which the text is, stands thus. "Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits."

IV. The last proposition is, that the most influential truths are sufficiently plain to the serious and diligent inquirer.

Says the prophet Isaiah, "And an highway shall be there,—and it shall be called the way of holiness;—the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." "For this commandment, which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off:—But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it." This passage is applied by St. Paul to the word of faith which the Apostles preached: "That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." The effect of believing in the heart is explained in the next verse. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." "The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple." But religious disputes sometimes make wise men mad. Is it not altogether reasonable to suppose, that what is enjoined upon all men, of every description, of every difference of opportunity, to believe and practise, should not be subject to great and perplexing doubts, nor require long and laborious investiga-

tion? There are certain general truths and impressions, in which those who study the Gospel are very much united, to which our hearts and minds generally respond, and which are the principles that produce the good effects under the various systems.

We generally confess that we are sinners, for we read it in the word, and feel it in our consciences. We can receive with joy the declaration, that mercy is offered through the Redeemer; we can receive it, trust in it, and pretend to no other hope, although we may not be able to comprehend all the counsels of the Divine Mind. We generally learn from the Scriptures to acknowledge a dependence on the power of the Most High for all the goods, not only of the body, but especially of the spirit. We are sensible of the necessity of repentance, of being converted from sin, and of living in obedience to the Divine commands. It is our duty, confessed by all, to worship and obey the Almighty, to fear and love him, to trust in him, and submit to his will. It is our duty to regard the Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of men, who has given himself for us a sacrifice for our sins; to listen to him as our Teacher, to follow his example, and to reverence him as our Judge. None will deny, that

the service of God, and the faith in Christ, require the observance of justice and charity, truth and purity, and all those relative and personal duties which the Scriptures copiously teach, and reason cannot refuse to approve. *As the end of these doctrines and duties, the Divine oracles place beyond a doubt a future life, a future judgment, a future state of reward and punishment. These great motives are calculated to render us satisfied with our present lot, patient in tribulation, firm in temptation, and chiefly intent on faith, hope, and charity.

These principles and duties, which are mentioned briefly, and in general terms, open into a wide field for contemplation and practice. They are worthy of all the attention that can be bestowed on them, for their important nature and beneficial effects. They are the highest subjects of the most enlarged minds. They are plain and level to all minds, who attend to them as they demand. They place the privileges and abilities of men more on a level than they can be in any other respect. For he who most diligently seeks them will most certainly find them. These plain truths do indeed appear to comprise the practical part of religion. For what is the practical design and effect of religion? What can we suppose to

be the will of the Father, the object of the Redeemer, in the revelation of the Gospel? Is it not, to make men pious, and virtuous, and happy? Now the study and practice of these plain truths is piety, and virtue, and happiness. The study of difficult questions must be considered, not as the end of religion, but as a means of promoting the practical ends; and it may be so pursued as to obstruct the essential and real exercises. If an attention to the more arduous subjects have a tendency to lead us to pious sentiments and to the practice of duties, still it is useful principally on account of this effect; and therefore the greatest importance should be attributed to the practical consequences, rather than to the instrumental speculations. And if with some diversity of opinion, or some want of satisfaction on high points, different men may attain to equally good, and pious, and Christian lives, as experience often testifies, we may conclude that it is not absolutely necessary to pursue to a decision matters which often escape the strongest research. It is a deep impression of the Divine government which generally influences the mind, and not a particular knowledge of the Divine proceedings. And this impression, these sentiments of submission, of trust and hope towards God, through Christ, may exist un-

der different forms, and modes, and articles of religion.

Since, then, good and reasonable men agree so well in the sentimental and practical truths of Christianity, while they apparently differ much in theoretical opinions, have we not hence reason to conclude that the former are the instructions which were principally intended to be conveyed to us by the Gospel, and that the latter may serve at once to excite and humble our inquiries? And do we not here discern the true ground of Christian charity and unity? Is not this the uniformity of faith and practice which we should be most desirous to maintain? Is not this a sufficient uniformity to hold us in peace and concord, in friendship and fellowship? While each one may indulge a humble and religious desire to look into the deeper subjects, as he has opportunity, he should consider that the attainments which constitute him a Christian, and a fellow and friend of Christians, are the graces and virtues of that character. This is the bond which might hold particular churches and societies together. This might hold different churches in harmony. This, I believe, does unite in reality, though not in appearance, the invisible Church of true believers on earth. And this it is which will visibly and

perfectly unite them hereafter in the heavens. "Charity never faileth ; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail ; whether there be tongues, they shall cease ; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. For now we see through a glass darkly ; but then face to face : now I know in part ; but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity."

IV. JESUS WEPT.*

JESUS WEPT. — John xi. 35.

THE Gospels are full of the compassion of Jesus. This part of them, which relates to Lazarus, is one of the most affecting, as well as of the most miraculous. Our Lord had a great friendship for this family. The Evangelist says, Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus. The brother was sick, and the sisters sent to Jesus to inform him of the sickness of him whom he loved. But Jesus abode two days still in the same place where he was. He said, "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby." Afterwards he said to his disciples, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of

* Preached at Newbury.

sleep." They not understanding him, he said plainly, "Lazarus is dead. And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe." His knowledge of distant and future events, and of the thoughts of men, is so frequently and familiarly mentioned, that it scarcely strikes us here as remarkable. Yet it is wonderful. He then went to Bethany, where the family lived, and arrived when Lazarus had lain in the grave four days. He found the sisters mourning, and many Jews, who came to comfort them. From this attendance, and other circumstances, it appears that they were a family of some eminence. We read after this, that they made a supper for him, and Mary anointed his feet with a very costly ointment of spikenard. As we read several times of his going to Bethany, and from Jerusalem to Bethany, to pass the night, it is altogether probable that he was entertained with his disciples by these friends. When Jesus, therefore, saw Mary weeping, and the Jews also weeping who came with her, he groaned in spirit, and was troubled, and said, Where have ye laid him? They say unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept. Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him! And some of them said, Could not this man, who opened the eyes

of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died? Jesus, having called upon the Father, that those who heard might believe, said with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth! And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes. Then many of the Jews which saw believed on him; but some went and told the Pharisees. The chief priests and Pharisees gathered a council, and from that day they took counsel to put him to death. The narrative, that we have abridged, we trust is known to all who read or hear the Bible. But it appeared necessary to introduce a discourse on the words, "Jesus wept," as the thoughts suggested by this short sentence are connected with the history.

This is a touching instance of our Lord's compassion; of which there are many other instances recorded by the Evangelists. But in this case there is something peculiar; and we are prompted humbly to inquire concerning the tears of Jesus, which he shed at the time when he was going immediately to give great and surprising joy to his mourning friends, to increase the faith of his disciples, to make other believers, to glorify the Father, and to show forth his personal glory.

1. We may see in this strong and tender emotion the sympathy of Jesus. The friends were

weeping, the Jews were weeping, and he wept with them that wept, though he would soon have occasion to rejoice with them that rejoiced. He had the finest feelings of nature. He felt our affections and bore our afflictions. We have not an high-priest who cannot sympathize with us. We are even informed that he was tempted like as we are; but without sin. In all good feelings and affections he was preëminently sensible and affectionate. In so good and pure a mind, so free from the sins, and superior to the vexations, of the world, the best sensibilities must have operated in their most intense power and perfection. The mind of man is hardened by sin and by selfishness; and it may become rigid and callous by chafing against the asperities and the iniquities of mankind. If we are determined to hold fast our integrity, and to preserve a *principle* of benevolence, still we may find it convenient to moderate our feelings, and to fortify ourselves with a firm rectitude of intention. But a mind so superior to provocation and to temptation as that of Jesus could sustain all the sensibility, together with the principle, of goodness. He could bear the contradiction of sinners with meekness; the infirmities and afflictions of his friends with sympathy; and his own sufferings with res-

ignation and devotion. So far is tenderness from being weakness in itself, that it appertains to a great and good mind at once to feel, to endure, and to act with steady wisdom. It was the same Jesus who wept with his friends, and at the same time called the dead forth from the grave. If *we* must restrain our feelings, that we may perform our duty, or endure our trials, it is because we want that exalted tone of mind that would bear out our principles and our affections together, in an equal tenor, or rather in a just proportion and harmony. Yet, if we must restrain our feelings, let us not relax our principles. And yet, again, if we are destitute of feeling, there is danger that we shall be at least deficient in principle and in duty. The springs, the active powers of the soul, would be wanting. There is a medium, a just balance, to be observed or sought; and good principles and affections, and the measure and the operation of them, are to be chiefly learned from the word, the life, and the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ.

He undoubtedly was touched with the griefs of his friends, though he knew that he should speedily relieve them. Their sorrows and their complaints touched the strings of his tender heart in unison. Both the sisters had said to him,

“Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.” He felt their grief. He might be touched also with this expression of their esteem, and of their confidence in his power. He might be touched with the gentle insinuation of his delay; with their anxiety, and wonder, and distress, that their Lord had delayed his coming, when he whom he loved was sick. He might be affected with the pains of his sick and dying friend; with his longing expectation of the powerful friend that could relieve and heal him. All their state, and all their thoughts and sorrows, we believe the Lord Jesus knew afar off; but they knew not, or remembered not, that he could heal the sick, if he saw fit, afar off as well as at hand, and could raise the dead to present life. Before this time, I think, he had given proofs of all these powers. But it was common to his disciples to be unable to contain in their thoughts all his mighty works, and to draw all the just conclusions. Yet he could participate in their griefs, and compassionate their infirmities.

- The Lord Jesus is the example of all that is good, and amiable, and honorable in human nature; or for which human nature was formed, and to which it may be raised. He was the perfect example, and mankind at best must be very imper-

fect, certainly very inferior to this heavenly pattern. But he has given us an example, that we should follow his steps; and, though with unequal steps, yet we should follow him. He has honored the kind and tender feelings of the heart by his own most amiable and admirable kindness and tenderness. Indeed, they are honored among men. If we sit down to draw a good character, these traits must enter into the description. Our Maker has formed our hearts for compassion, and some traces of these original touches of the Divine hand remain amidst the disorders of mankind. We are affected by scenes of distress. There are occurrences, and there are thoughts, which seize the heart and overcome it. Kindness and compassion are called humanity, by which name it is indicated that they properly belong to human nature. Those who are destitute of such feelings or dispositions, and hardened against them, are called inhuman, as being destitute even of the common feelings of human nature. Our Author has formed us for them, that they may be ready motives to the mutual benevolence and assistance which are necessary for the comfort and happiness of mankind. He has formed us to find our best pleasure, our noblest joy, in commiserating and alleviating distress. He has

made us to imitate his goodness. We do not imagine that he is subject to human passions. But he is purely and essentially good, and he is divinely merciful; and he has made us in our nature and station humbly to imitate his goodness and mercy. He requires it of us, and enjoins it upon us, by the hope of his mercy and favor, and our present and future happiness. The Son has shown us a perfect goodness and compassion in human nature, and has taught us how we may be followers of God, in being followers of his beloved Son, in being kind one to another, tender-hearted, and walking in love, as Christ has loved us, and given himself for us. These affections are most effectually promoted by his Gospel, by studying and following his example, his precepts, his doctrines, and being led by his Spirit. They are especially fruits of the Spirit, Christian virtues and graces.

We may remark further, that from the compassion of our Lord, the humble, the afflicted, or the anxious mind may derive great consolation. The sympathy which he showed on the earth affords a great hope of mercy and compassion in heaven; a great evidence that God is merciful, and the Son is a kind and compassionate Saviour. God is just and holy, and abhors sin, and has de-

clared his awful judgments against impenitent sinners ; and the Saviour has sometimes expressed his holy indignation against impenitent, obdurate, and malignant sinners.

But when the soul is bowed down with sorrow, with concern, or contrition, and is sincerely anxious to find mercy, and submit itself to God to be ruled and saved according to his will, there is, to my mind, in the character of Christ, and in the manifestation of Divine love by him, a strong and tender invitation to repose our hopes and our sorrows on that great and gracious friend who has borne our griefs in his feelings, and our sins in his sacrifice.

2. We may observe that our Lord was moved with compassion, not only for his friends, but also for his enemies ; not only for his disciples and followers, but also for unbelieving and contradicting sinners. This is one of the highest proofs of compassionate goodness. The observation is pertinent to the present occasion. Of the Jews who attended the mourners, some were convinced, and others were hardened. Some said, "Behold how he loved him !" Others said, with a kind of half belief and half doubt, and in the language of reproach, "Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man

should not have died?" When he had raised the dead, many of the Jews, who saw the miracle, believed on him. But some went away and told the Pharisees; doubtless with no good intent and affection. The chief priests and Pharisees took the alarm, and called a council, and said, "What do we? for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation." Then, from that day forth, they took counsel together to put him to death. They also consulted that they might put Lazarus to death; because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus. They acknowledged his miracles; they saw many of them, and could not deny them. Yet they determined to put him to death. The fear of the Romans on his account was a pretence, with which they deceived men, and perhaps themselves. A peaceable, unambitious teacher in Judea could not have alarmed the suspicion of the Romans. Had he been such a prince as the Jews desired and expected, he would soon have drawn upon them the Roman legions. But if he had raised an insurrection, with any probability of success, the Jews with their chief priests and Pharisees would have eagerly thronged to his

standard. Their pretences were far from their real motives, which were founded in the opposition between his character and doctrine and theirs.

Yet the Saviour could weep and mourn for them, even for those whom he reproved and rebuked with just and holy severity, against whom he threatened the most dreadful judgments. He could pray on the cross for those who caused him to be crucified, and were exulting in his crucifixion. He could weep and mourn over Jerusalem, which killed the prophets, and them that were sent to her, and would kill him, who came forth from the Father.

On the present occasion we may consider Jesus as weeping and groaning for the unbelief, the obduracy, the malignity, and the misery of many of his nation. Of those who saw the astonishing miracle, some were still hardened against conviction, or persuasion; and went away to inform his bitter enemies, as we think, with a malevolent design. Those bitter enemies were still more embittered and enraged by a miracle, by which all opposition and resistance ought to have been subdued. It is not only written that Jesus wept, but also that he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled; and we may think that this trouble and grief of mind might arise in part from his

knowledge of the inflexible unbelief and atrocious wickedness of his countrymen, and the judgments that were impending upon them. He could lament for the miseries that were coming upon them, though by their sins they deserved them; he could lament, that by their sins they deserved these judgments; and it might be a painful thought, that the mighty act which he was going to perform, by which all ought to be convinced and secured, would operate on the perverseness of many, to harden them in unbelief, to increase their opposition and enmity, their guilt and condemnation. It is a fearful, and almost desperate case, when the means of grace become to men the means of hardening the heart, and increasing its ungodliness. But a good mind, like that of our Lord, could mourn over the sins and miseries of those who, he knew, would go on till they met their condemnation. He could be grieved for them, while he knew them to be objects of righteous indignation. It may be supposed that he could feel both this grief and this indignation. And though to such a mind and such a Saviour they might still be objects of pity, yet they could not be saved by mercy, they could not be saved from condemnation, without repentance, unless they should repent and believe

the Gospel, put away their sins, and obey the truth.

3. We may believe that our Lord was affected by an enlarged view of the sins, and sorrows, and miseries of mankind. His deceased friend, we believe, was a sincere disciple; he was soon to be raised again; and, if he were not to be raised again to this life, he would be happy in the other, the heavenly life. But he had his lot and portion in our common nature, and common mortality. From the first sin of man the sentence of death had been pronounced, and had been fulfilled with but two or three extraordinary exceptions. To this must be added a long train of diseases and pains, troubles and afflictions, which distress the human race. More and greater than these are the evils which arise from the sins and crimes of mankind; and in the view of a good mind these sins are in themselves the greatest evils of the world. Beyond these, the punishment of sin in futurity would occur to such a mind in immediate and painful connection. To him who came into the world to save men from sin and condemnation, it would be most deeply afflictive to consider how great a proportion of mankind would not partake of this salvation; how many would refuse or neglect it; how many would oppose the Saviour, and their own salvation,— would, like the

Jews of old, resist the counsel of God, and the wonderful methods which he has appointed to reclaim and save men. We may believe that it would be most deeply afflictive to the heart of Jesus to consider how great a proportion of mankind would remain insensible to his works and sufferings, and to the holy and merciful purposes for which he would suffer; would reject the instructions of Divine wisdom and love, and the benefits which he offered in the agony of his soul; and would aggravate their sins and increase their condemnation through the very means, the miraculous means, which Divine wisdom has appointed, and the Son has executed by his own bitter death, for the salvation of men. It is a most melancholy, and awful, and mysterious condition of human nature which is exhibited in this view; that the transcendently great dispensations of Divine wisdom and goodness, the miracles, the instructions, the warnings of the prophets, the judgments of the Lord, and especially the mighty works, the heavenly words, the glorious character, and the extreme sufferings of the Saviour, should not have produced greater effects than are witnessed upon the minds, the happiness, and the hopes of mankind.

4. The Lord Jesus may be humbly supposed to have anticipated his own most painful death,

when he was contemplating the death of his friend, the unbelief of the Jews, the malice of his enemies, and the wide-spread miseries of sin. He plainly appears to have suffered in his death, and before his death, more than mortal pains. He suffered for sins; he bare our sins in his own body on the tree; he was made sin for us, who knew no sin. We believe, we have seen, that he had the most intense and perfect sensibility. Doubtless he could feel all the pains of the cross, and he could anticipate them. But we believe, also, that he expressed far greater agony than his sublime mind would have expressed in the apprehension, or the feeling, of the common pains, or the most severe pains, of mere mortality. The effect attributed to his death, his suffering for sin, a sacrifice for sin, indicates a far greater suffering than that of common mortality, or even common crucifixion. The thought of this painful death was nearly connected with the death and restoration of his friend. He was to die that he might give life and salvation to his friends. And it was this amazing act of his power which immediately provoked his enemies to conspire to put him to death. Even then, it may be said, he bare our sins in the trouble and anguish of his heart, and expressed his grief in the cries and groans of his spirit.

Finally, from the compassion of Jesus we should learn to be compassionate; and if we have not, or cannot have, all his sensibility, we should at least learn to be benevolent, charitable, and ready to relieve and assist the distressed. By his compassion, also, the afflicted and contrite heart may be encouraged to hope in Jesus, and in the Divine mercy. His pity, his grief, and his prayers for his opposers and enemies, should teach us, by his example, as he has taught us by precept, to be charitable to our enemies, and to those who may be opposed to us. It gives us to hope, that those who are alienated and enemies in their minds by wicked works may be reconciled, if they throw down their opposition, and humbly yield themselves to a merciful Saviour. But the unbelief and the enmity of the Jews, and their awful fate, are solemn warnings to us, not to reject, not to neglect, the offers and the calls of Divine mercy. The melancholy state of the world in regard to religion and its blessings, or sin and its miseries, instead of satisfying us, as being in the same condition with many or most others, ought to excite us to fly to Christ and his Gospel for refuge and salvation. And his love, his doctrine, and his death offer to those who humbly and sincerely come to him, and follow him, the greatest hope of mercy and salvation.

V. THANKSGIVING FOR PEACE.*

COME, BEHOLD THE WORKS OF THE LORD, WHAT DESOLATIONS HE HATH MADE IN THE EARTH. HE MAKETH WARS TO CEASE UNTO THE END OF THE EARTH; HE BREAKETH THE BOW, AND CUTTETH THE SPEAR IN SUNDER: HE BURNETH THE CHARIOT IN THE FIRE.— Psalm xlii. 8, 9.

THE present is a period of wonders; I had almost said, of miracles. Certainly it is a time for fervent admiration and thanksgiving. Little more than a year ago, and for many years previous, the earth was overwhelmed with a general war, destruction, and desolation. Now wars have ceased to the ends of the earth. Two short months ago, most of us were expecting a summer of violent and exasperated warfare; and were in a manner

* Printed at Newburyport, in 1815, with the following title:—
“A Discourse delivered on the Day of National Thanksgiving for Peace, April 13, 1815. Published by Request.”

arming ourselves, to fight for our land, our homes, and our families. Now we are here before the Lord, to render to him our thanks for the restoration of peace, and that we can dwell in quiet habitations.

There is, indeed, a remnant of war with a piratical power; and at another time it might appear considerable, as it may be and is distressful to some of our brethren. But, comparing it with the wars that have ceased here, and in other parts of the earth, we can scarcely regard it as an exception from the general pacification.

We very naturally think our own times and our own affairs the most interesting and important. But really I think our own times, the period of the last twenty years or more, the most extraordinary that have passed in the late thousand years; and the conclusion not less extraordinary than the progress. I might have excepted the great Reformation; but I was speaking of the political state of the world. All this vast commotion and revolution, after its commencement, was carried on by one man; whose fall was as signal as his elevation. The French power was rapidly declining when he seized the government; and he almost became the conqueror of all Europe. Nor could this remote land be exempt from the

general struggle. We also were drawn into the war of the world; and were left alone to finish it with a powerful nation. It is finished; and, I suppose, we all heartily rejoice in the peace. Let us rejoice in the Lord, and render to him our humble and hearty thanks for this great mercy.

Religion, the religion of the Holy Bible, teaches us devoutly to acknowledge his overruling providence in causing wars to cease, and giving peace to nations. This religion also teaches us to acknowledge his overruling providence even in the scourge of war. We do not impute to him the wrath and the guilt of man. But he can restrain this wrath, or let it rage on and scourge the guilty nations. It is a scourge to the victors, as well as to the vanquished. War may be truly called "the scourge of God"; and it is one of the severest scourges. He can justly cause the wrath and the wickedness of man to execute his judgments; and then he can justly punish the instruments, whose thought and intent was only to execute their own wicked designs. This doctrine is clearly exemplified in the Scriptural history of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires.

By the occasion and the text, we are led to think of *the evils of war*, and of *the blessings of peace*. Thence will arise reasons for *gratitude* to

the Almighty Ruler ; and for *preserving peace*, "as much as lieth in us," as much and as long as possible.

The blessings of peace consist firstly and chiefly in exemption from the evils and miseries of war ; and this exemption is most clearly and strongly perceived and felt, when it is recent.

I. We must, therefore, consider some of the evils from which we and mankind are recently delivered.

Think of seven or eight hundred thousands, or a million of men, drawn together to destroy one another, with all their might and skill, and with the most forcible instruments of destruction. Think of all the men of military age in these United States, or of all the white men of twenty years of age and upward, drawn together for this sanguinary purpose. These vast numbers were engaged, not only in one battle, but in many battles through a campaign. These wars were carried on, not only through one year, but many years, twenty years, as many as twenty of these latter years. In some of these battles, probably, as many as sixty or seventy thousands have been killed or wounded. The battles have been frequent, and numerous, and fierce, and obstinate, and destructive, to an unparalleled degree. Then

we must take into the account the mortal diseases of a camp, and the many sufferings of warfare. I think it has been said, that a quarter part of the armies perish in a year; and sometimes in these wars the half or the greater part. To this shocking account we must add the dreadful distresses, the famine, the ruin, of the countries through which the "overflowing scourge" passes; cities demolished, fields, regions, laid desolate, and the inhabitants ruined; all the works, and arts, and joys, and comforts of man beaten down and trampled in the dust. "And woe to the conquered"; woe, woe, woe to the conquered; one woe is past, and another and another woe cometh! The countries from which the powers of war are drawn, men, money, provisions, are oppressed with burdens, taxes, exactions, and complicated distresses of the people and of families. Their bread is snatched from the poor, and their living from those who were in comfortable circumstances. Heavy imposts exhaust the resources of life. Multitudes are thrown out of business and subsistence. Almost every thing is arrested, but what contributes to supply and support the destroyer of men. Fathers, brothers, and children are torn from their families, with the probability that they shall never see them again. The whole land and the people

are oppressed, exhausted, wasted, and reduced to various wretchedness. The moral ruin of war is among its most deleterious, poisonous effects. The moral pestilence spreads through the camp, the court, the city, and the country. The great principles of religion, the laws of virtue, the sentiments and the institutions which are most salutary to mankind, are violated, rejected, and despised. Vice, iniquity, and impiety abound.

The court, indeed, is already infected, and spreads the contagion through the country. These miseries generally proceed from one or a few men, working upon the passions of mankind. Those "who rule over men," whose office and duty it is to watch and labor for their peace and happiness, — these, possessing power, consider the people as made only for their service, made to be destroyed at their will, or for their pleasure. They regard the life of a man no more than the life of a beast. No doubt there are exceptions. No doubt there have been rulers who have studied and labored for the good of the people. But very commonly they have other designs, of their own will, or their own pleasure, or their own glory, or their cupidity, which they place in pursuits far distant from the people's happiness, often in those which produce the people's misery and destruction. Yes, misery,

and destruction, and iniquity, and wickedness, are called honor, and glory, and prosperity ; and the infatuated people join in the cry, and shout in the train and the triumph of their destroyers. Yea, they are ready coolly and cheerfully to kill one another, for the pleasure or the rage of their masters.

These horrible scenes have been exhibited on this earth almost continually, ever since it has existed. They rise from the wickedness of man, or the instigation of the Devil, or both together ; and they are the scourges of the wickedness whence they arise. War is always unjust, on one side, or the other, or both. It is evident, that, if "the people were all righteous," if the nations and the rulers were all just, there would be no wars. There would be few or no occasions of difference, or dispute ; and, if any should arise, they would be easily and equitably settled. "The work of righteousness is peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." Of the universal reign of Christ it is prophesied, that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The hostile spirit of the world is very distant from the peaceable spirit of the Gospel.

Ambition, avarice, and sometimes revenge and hatred, are the common causes of war. Such are

the real causes, though other pretexts are conjured up; and pretexts are easily found, when they are wanted. But the pretended causes are seldom the real causes. The lust of dominion, or of acquisition, has been the cause of most of the wars within the memory and history of man. The rude barbarians of antiquity made no ceremony of the business, but openly and boldly marched forth to conquer, to subdue, and to plunder. The civilized barbarians of later times are a little more ceremonious, and for the sake of form, or deception, they make some pretences; but their passions and motives are the same. As if a man have not business, or honor, or happiness, or trouble enough, in governing ten, twenty, or thirty millions; unless, by destroying a million, he can gain a million, or the desolated land which they once inhabited. And commonly he must retire at last only with his loss, and triumph in the miseries of his people. But it is said, that war is sometimes necessary in self-defence; and that it is necessary to keep up the spirit and the preparations of war, that we may be able to defend ourselves against invaders. If this position must be granted, it is all that can be granted in truth and righteousness. If all nations were governed by this principle, there would be few or no wars.

We seem to imagine, that, if there be any small pretence for fighting, we are bound in honor and justice to fight; and that it is base and pusillanimous to decline the combat. A more magnanimous justice would require a real, a great, a sufficient, an indispensable cause, before it would open the gates of slaughter and devastation. We seem to imagine, that, if we can find or make some pretence against another power, we have a perfect right, and are bound in honor and justice, to destroy ourselves, or to throw ourselves into the way of destruction. There is no question about our own ability, or safety, or existence; or the lives of thousands, or the fortunes of the people. If this is honor, I would rather bear the dishonor of a small stain of reason and sober wisdom; I would even rather bear the disgrace of a little religion and Christianity.

But the professed warrior values not reasons, and stops not for pretences. His business, his profession, his occupation, his glory, is to destroy mankind and desolate the earth; "and all the world wonder after the beast," and many give him the highest glory of human nature. The defenders of their country have been deservedly honored and celebrated, and their memory has been precious and dearly cherished. But the dazzled mind loses

sight of the motives, amidst the glare of the warrior, and transfers the honor due to patriotism to the lawless and ferocious conquerors and destroyers of men. It worships them, as the poor savages worship the evil spirit.

What a dark and dismal history of the world is composed of these incessant wars and ruins! Indeed, they compose most of the history of mankind. What woful effects and punishments of human depravity!

This cruel rage has risen in our day to the greatest height and most enormous dominion. We rarely meet with any thing equal or similar to this period in the long records of time. The mightiest nations were engaged in mortal conflict. It seemed for a time, that all the nations were to be subdued and enslaved. The wrath and power of the conqueror were felt by all people, from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Red Sea; from the Straits, which separate the continents, to the cold regions of the North Star. All seemed to fall before him, but an Island begirt with navies. But the moment when he was ready to seize on universal empire was the moment when he began to fall from the height of his power. "The Lord blowed upon him with his wind," and he shrunk under the blast. The nations rose upon him, and

he retired like a hunted lion. They pursued him to his domain; "he forgot his cunning"; he left them between him and his capital; they seized the seat of his empire, "and he fell like Lucifer," and lay at their mercy.

We also have felt the violence of the times. We have been harassed, and shut up, and driven into war. We know something of the slaughter, and the expense, and the various sufferings. Thousands have fallen; thousands have been distressed; thousands have been reduced; and all have been burdened with heavy taxes, and heavy prices. Money and credit have failed, and a great debt remains. These are necessary and unavoidable evils of war. There have been various successes, some defeats, and some failures of expeditions; and some signal victories and defences. The seamen have maintained their honor, and the honor of their country. Our defenders have done wonders in repelling invasion. But, though they have several times done bravely, they have in effect gained nothing but this praise, in invading the hostile territories. But those who were opposed to the war on principle cannot reasonably complain of the failure of invasions. The proper subject of their complaint is, that they were ever attempted. The enemy have not been much more

successful in invading us. They have taken and destroyed the Capitol; they have taken a place or two on the northeastern borders; and have committed ravages and depredations in divers places. In several attempts they have been defeated, in some surprisingly defeated. But they could easily attack us on all quarters, and keep us in perpetual alarm, and motion, and fighting; they could do us vast damage, might take some of our towns, and occasion an enormous expense. This was our great danger; this they threatened, and we apprehended. There was no great danger that they could penetrate far into the populous parts of the country, or could maintain their ground in it, without greater forces than they had hitherto sent against us. But they had it in their power to harass and distress us, and force us to defend ourselves at a vast expense of blood and treasure.

If our cause were most just, our necessity most urgent, our success complete and certain, still, while the war continued, we must encounter and endure its manifold evils; still it is at best a complication of the most "sore evils under the sun"; and we have reason to be heartily glad when they are brought to a termination. I cannot conceive of the happiness of being compelled to defend

ourselves by force. We may be thankful, if we are successfully defended. But I can hardly be induced to celebrate the brilliant success, the splendor, the glory, the joy, of killing and being killed; of thousands killed and wounded, and thousands destitute, distressed, and ruined. I cannot find a Christian joy in destroying even our enemies. If it be a necessity and a duty, let it be done sadly and firmly, manfully and mournfully, — unless our passions must be excited, that we may perform our duty. But if we may be thankful for victory, we may be more thankful that we are no longer constrained to strive for victory, or for defence.

Many of us have thought that our cause was not right; or, at the most, that it was far from being sufficient for involving the country in the evils of hostility with the nation the most powerful in the world with respect to us. These undoubtedly rejoice greatly in feeling a release from the *moral*, as well as the natural, evils of the contest. And, indeed, whether it were deemed right or wrong, I doubt not that we can all rejoice very heartily together, that the war is ended, and peace restored.

We are relieved also from great difficulties and dangers in our internal situation. We are relieved from many and heavy burdens, though many must

still remain ; from many wants and sufferings ; from the necessity of defending ourselves on all our coasts and borders ; from violent measures, and violent exertions ; from great questions and dangers respecting our rights, and the Constitution, and the principles of the Union, and the interests of the particular members. If our internal order and peace may now be preserved with equity, this is a great reason for rejoicing to patriotic minds.

II. The blessings of peace, then, are first perceived and felt in a discharge from the evils and miseries of war. We scarcely know the good that we possess, till we have lost it ; and we most feelingly perceive it when it is restored. Yet it would not be very natural, or not very wise, to plunge ourselves into misery, merely for the pleasure of being delivered. We all felt a strong sensation of joy, we raised a tumult of joy, when the sudden and glad sound of peace greeted our ears. We stopped not to doubt, or to inquire into circumstances or conditions. Peace of any kind was joyful news. We were delighted with the very name of peace. We had experienced enough of the calamities of war, and expected deeper and more extensive calamities. Successes could not conceal them from us ; nor could they conceal our

losses ; for we must honestly confess, that we had but alternate success. Our successes or defences appeared to be the work, or the will, of a merciful Providence. When the news of peace arrived, we uttered the spontaneous effusions, the unrestrained sentiments of the heart, before we had time for reflection or consideration. We showed how great a blessing we esteemed it, how greatly it was desired.

Afterwards we began to inquire, What have we gained by the peace ? We have gained peace. Is not that enough ? What would you have more ? Would you rather have the war continued ? What have we gained by the war ? Or what should we gain, if it were continued ? We should probably *gain* only greater *losses* ; or, if we lost nothing, we could no longer expect to gain any thing from a powerful nation, released from her European engagements, and free to bend all her strength against us. If we could defend ourselves, that was enough for us to expect or hope. In the mean time, this defence would have cost us dear ; and after all, we should do well if we could end where we began. The times are changed, and we are changed with them. The great powers of the world are changed. When we began, the predominant powers were on our side. We might flatter .

ourselves, that we could do what we would, and accomplish all our plans. But such is the foresight of man! That flattering hour was an evil hour. What mortal man could foresee the surprising turn of affairs in the world? In process of time, and of no long time, the powers were turned against us; or left us to cope alone with a nation, which we must acknowledge to be very formidable. It was time for us to change likewise. It was a time for peace, if we could make it. To this all must assent; if we cannot agree, that it was a time for war, when we did make it. It is better to repent, to change our mind and conduct, than to persist in a ruinous course; and it had become necessary.

It is said, that we have obtained nothing of all the objects to which we pretended. If our pretensions were not right, it is right that they should be relinquished. If they *were* right, but impossible to be obtained, we could not perform impossibilities. If we have done wrong, the wrong was in making the war, rather than in making the peace. We presume that all prefer the peace to war, with all the disadvantages and failures with which it is charged.

Again, it is said, that we have lost several valuable advantages, which we before quietly pos-

sessed. A part of the territory that we held as our own is now made questionable, and is actually out of our hands; and some valuable privileges in the fisheries and in commerce, which we held by treaty, are now either refused, or made to depend on the will of the government which claims the right to them. This is not denied. But is it not better to sit down with this loss, than to incur a greater? Can we not comfort ourselves with the consideration, that the loss and damage are not so great as they might have been? In truth, as these rights originally belonged to the enemy, and as we had lost our share in them by the war, we could not recover them but by force on our part, or by good-will on their part, or by commutation; neither of which, as it appears, was sufficient for the purpose.

But it may be inquired, "Where is boasting then?" What reason have we for boasting? What great praise and glory can we take to ourselves? Truly, I shall not pretend to prove the right or the propriety of boasting, or of praising ourselves, or of glorying in ourselves. We have a peace; let us be thankful. Men of the greatest and the most real worth are not commonly the most boastful. The truly great and good WASHINGTON, the grand instrument of achieving our In-

dependence, the attracting centre of our Union, was no boaster. Surely it becomes us to be modest, humble, and thankful.

Something, however, we may have gained. We may have gained experience. We may know by experience the evils of war. We may know, if we will, "the things that belong to our peace." We may know the ways of war, "and the ways of peace," and the wide difference. We may learn to avoid the former, and follow the latter, "to refuse the evil, and choose the good"; and we have strong reasons "to seek peace and ensue it" for some time to come. But we must not expect too much from this advantage. "There is no remembrance of former things," as we are taught by Solomon; and his words are proved by experience. "The word of the Lord, the word of Divine wisdom, endureth for ever."

We have a peace, then, let us be thankful. If we can boast no more, let us be thankful. Let us acknowledge it as a great gift of Divine mercy. "It is of the Lord's mercies, that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not. Let us be still, and know that he is God."

"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. He maketh peace in our borders, and filleth us with the finest of the wheat. We

hear no more the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war. Violence is no more heard in our land; wasting nor destruction within our borders. Joy and gladness are found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody." Now the captives are returning from their gloomy prisons to gladden the hearts of their mourning families. Now the soldiers are returning from the field of battle to the relations of civil life. They have proved their bravery, and won the applause of their country; may they preserve by their virtue the praise which they have acquired by their valor. Now the arts and toils and perils of war are changed for the arts and works and fruits of peace. The artisans are returning to their occupations, from which they had long desisted in sad and pining inaction. The cheerful sound of industry begins to be heard in the streets. The merchants are resuming their enterprise, and sending forth their ships to exchange the commodities of the various world. The hardy mariners may now find their wonted employ, and peacefully traverse the ocean, and joyfully hail all that they meet, without fear of capture. The husbandman raises "the precious fruits of the earth," no longer to feed a devouring and deadly war, but to nourish the peaceable inhabitants of the land, and to supply a useful, enlivening, and

enriching commerce. All the resources of an extensive people may now be employed to increase the tranquil arts, and improvements, and enjoyments of civil life and society. There are, indeed, and there must continue to be, great public demands upon them ; but these, we suppose, will not be augmented by new and increasing demands. The government will be in a great degree disembarassed, and will find a supply in the returning activity and prosperity of the people ; a prosperity which may slowly but surely return, if we have learned wisdom by the evils that we have suffered. The contemplative mind delights to view a people freed from the struggles and the ravages of war ; and flourishing in the works and enjoyments of peace and prosperity. Religion rejoices in the peace and happiness of man, and in seeing an end to so many miseries and bitter fruits of sin. The fruit of religion is peace and benevolence. " The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace." The Gospel is emphatically styled the Gospel of Peace. Religion mourns when the hostile passions reign. She mourns over the sins and the ruins of man. But then is the time when she has least influence to save them. Amidst the din of arms and the tumults of the people, they hear not her reclaiming voice ; they regard

not her benign persuasion; they are occupied with the passing and pressing events; they partake of the temper and spirit of the times; and in such times immorality and irreligion abound. But when we are settled down in peaceful and tranquil life, may it not be hoped that we may be led to serious reflection, to a solemn consideration of the judgments and the mercies of the Lord, to attend to that religion which is the firmest security of peace, which brings us peace with God, and is the chief good, the best hope, and the strongest bond of man and of human society?

Looking abroad to other nations, we behold what wonders are wrought in the earth. The nations, which were lately and long engaged in the most terrible wars, are now enjoying a universal repose; and their chiefs are assembled in a grand Congress, to effect a general pacification. Seldom or never, I believe, has such a scene been exhibited on the face of the earth. Rarely has there been so great a change so suddenly produced. The conqueror is fallen, and the world is at rest. The providence of the Lord is "made manifest" in these mighty operations. What a happy and glorious change is wrought in the condition of so many nations, of so many millions of people. Glorious I deem it, "not to destroy men's lives,

but to save them"; not to render them wretched, but to render them happy. If they are not all completely happy, yet they are happy comparatively with their former condition. The nations were repeatedly torn up from their foundations, and dashed together, and broken to pieces, in tremendous conflicts. We should account it a most happy and glorious change in the policy of the world, if the nations could be settled and preserved in peace, and justice, and friendly relations: and to observe justice on all sides would infallibly preserve the peace of all. We had hoped, that this most wise and happy policy would be the study and the consequence of the present assembly of sovereigns and their ministers; that their long experience of the miseries of war and the crimes of ambition would persuade them to study to preserve the peace for a long time; to infix principles of justice in their own minds; to establish the nations with equity and with generosity; and, if possible, to form some general system for adjusting disputes amicably, without resorting to arms. We had hoped, that the magnanimity which was admired in Alexander would have been consummated, and would have crowned him with excellent glory, in this grand negotiation. We had fondly hoped, that this surprising revolu-

tion might be the dawn of a brighter day, might introduce a new and happier order of things to the afflicted world. We had even connected these views and hopes with the extensive exertions that are made to diffuse the word of truth, the Gospel of peace and salvation. But we fear that they are still men, and kings, selfish, ambitious, avaricious, contending, perhaps fighting again, to divide the spoil, or to seize the prey. But we have no certain information. We would still enjoy the pleasing hope, while we may, that their past sufferings, or the sufferings of their people, and some sense of equity, of mercy, and of awful duty, may restrain their passions, and dispose them to follow counsels of reasons and moderation, of universal and durable peace.

O ye rulers of the people, ye leaders and commanders of the people, ye who are set up on high, to be the pastors and guardians of the people! behold the woes and the horrors of war, "the distress and perplexity of nations," the horrid spectacle of men and nations driven on without reason to mutual slaughter; then contemplate your people prosperous and happy in the works, the improvements, the enjoyments of peace, the nations connected in amicable and beneficial relations and commerce; set these extremely contrast-

ed scenes before your eyes, and let them penetrate to your hearts, and *learn war no more*. Learn truth, which you have seldom heard,—learn truth, learn righteousness, learn wisdom, learn the fear of the Lord, “before whose judgment-seat you must stand”; and then will you learn to love and to preserve the peace of nations and of the world. Then will you learn a truth as obvious as it is unknown, that your glory consists, not in destroying, but in preserving your people; your happiness, not in their misery, but in their prosperity. Then will you find the glory and the joy which fly from your errors and your passions, which escape your blind and mad pursuit; not the abject homage of fear and of hatred, of vice and of baseness; but the true, the pure, the sublime glory and joy, to which the Universal and Perfect Sovereign exalts you, of being “His ministers *for good*” to the people, the benefactors, the delight, and the admiration of mankind.

We conclude with two heads of *improvement*, that have been proposed.

1. We have great reasons for gratitude to the Almighty Ruler. It is not without his will and his providence, that peace has visited our shores. It is the visitation of his mercy. He has visited us with his judgments: now he visits us in his

mercy. Let the joy that has entered into our hearts be raised in grateful offering to the throne of his grace. We are heartily glad; let us be devoutly thankful. We heartily rejoice; let us "rejoice in the Lord." Let us learn "to acknowledge God" in all things; to think and to speak of all his wondrous works. Let us learn to revere his power, to fear his judgments, "to hope in his mercy," and to be grateful for all his benefits. Let us forget none of his benefits; O, let us not be of those "who forget God." We have peculiar and strong reasons at present to acknowledge and remember his mercy. "Bless the Lord, O our souls; and all that is within us, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O our souls, and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth our iniquities; who healeth our diseases; who redeemeth our lives from destruction; who crowneth us with loving-kindness and tender mercies. The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. He will not always chide; neither will he keep his anger for ever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all. Bless the Lord, all his works, in all places of his

dominion. Bless the Lord, O our souls." * "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! For he satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness. Such as sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron; because they rebelled against the words of God, and contemned the counsel of the Most High; therefore he brought down their heart with labor; they fell down, and there was none to help. Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he saved them out of their distresses. He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and brake their bands in sunder. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! Who-so is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving-kindness of the Lord." †

The language of inspiration offers the most suitable and worthy expressions of praise and thanksgiving; and it may be found adapted to all relig-

* Psalm ciii.

† Psalm cvii.

ious occasions. Thus saith the Lord, "Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me: and to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God."* He is pleased to accept the praises of the unworthy race of men, as glorifying him, "whose glory is above the heavens." Another most suitable and due expression of gratitude is to order our conversation, our conduct, aright before him. His mercy is a great motive to this grateful duty; and our hopes require it, if we desire to trust in his providence and his grace, and to see the salvation of God, in time and in eternity.

2. From the occasion and the subject arise reasons for preserving peace, as much as lieth in us, as much and as long as possible. "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." †

I intended to make this argument a long one; but I have spoken long enough, and must make it a short one.

All that has been said, and all that can be said, of the evils of war, and of the blessings of peace, of the spirit of religion, and of the happiness of man, are arguments for preserving peace to the

* Psalm l. 23.

† Rom xii. 18.

utmost point of reason and of forbearance. We have had forcible, and pressing, and convincing arguments in the war which is now ended; and, I presume, we are sufficiently disposed to listen to the doctrine and the duty of peace. Why are we here assembled this day? Why is the nation assembled this day? To give thanks for the blessing of peace. If it were not esteemed a blessing, if it were not esteemed preferable to war, or if it were accounted less eligible, we ought either to keep silence, or to keep a day of fasting and humiliation. We are not giving thanks for any thing that we have gained; but simply for the blessing of peace. This act, this public act, speaks a language which should be remembered when our hostile passions are again excited. A great part of mankind seem eager to rush into war, and when they have tried it, they are as eager to escape from it; and peace on almost any terms is received as an occasion of rejoicing and thanksgiving. Thus do they bear the testimony of their own experience against the errors of their own opinions and passions. But I will suppose, that the greater part of civilized people, in their sober thought, when their passions are not roused, are convinced that war is one of the most severe calamities which afflict the human race. If they

are not so convinced, I will hold the position, for my part, as certain and proved.

The question then is, how to avoid or avert this deadly evil.

The public sentiment must, if possible, and as far as possible, be set against it. We must accustom ourselves to think and to speak of peace as one of the greatest of temporal blessings; of war as one of the greatest evils and scourges in this evil and sinful world; to which we should not resort but in unavoidable necessity. If we enjoy any freedom, the public sentiment and public voice, the prevalent voice, will produce its effect upon the acts and the character of the government.

It may be alleged, that wars are frequently necessary and unavoidable. If they are unavoidable, they cannot be avoided. But the necessity that would justify them should be an inevitable, or an indispensable necessity. Were this the rule of war, it would be much less frequent. We should not imagine that our honor or interest requires us to revenge every offence with the whole body and blood of the nation. If such be the law of honor, we must always be fighting all nations and all men. As in private life, so in public affairs, a more pacific spirit would be more honora-

ble and magnanimous; and very probably would be more happily successful in saving both our honor and prosperity. The wrathful potentates of the earth, when they are hastening to war, often preface their declarations with praises of their forbearance, which they decorate with the style of magnanimity. *We are not obliged to believe all their declarations; but we may see in them a concession to the sentiment and the truth, that forbearance may be magnanimous.* If it be unwise to allow ourselves to be driven to madness by every offence; it is not less, but still more unwise, to suffer ourselves to be carried away with false or unreasonable pretexts, commonly tricked out to cover other designs and motives, which will not bear a disclosure. For this reason it is most conducive and even necessary to our peace, and every other good of society, that we should endeavor to acquire as much knowledge as we can attain, and to form an honest and sound judgment; that we may not be carried away by the wind of words, and deluded by false pretensions.

Again, there is an old and established maxim, that we must be prepared for war, that we may be able to maintain peace. This is not denied: and if we are prepared for war, with the love of peace and justice, we shall probably not often

have much other trouble than that of the preparation.

That we may preserve peace, we must cultivate justice. We must study to be just ourselves ; to promote and support just principles, just measures, and just men ; to discountenance, and reprobate, and lawfully and steadfastly oppose all injustice. We must take King David's rule for our rule, whether we be in office, or electors : " He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." * A just nation and a just government will not intentionally do wrong to another nation, nor impute wrong to them without cause. They will make no wars from corrupt motives, from cupidity, intrigue, depraved ambition, lust of dominion, or mad passion. They will of course, on their part, as much as lieth in *them*, avoid all the wars which flow from these principal and most abundant sources. Nor will other nations easily make war upon them. They will be respected. Occasions cannot easily be found or taken against them. If there be justice on the other side, as there may be, differences will be easily composed. But if they must resist invasion, or intolerable injury, they will be strong in the right, in their principles

* 2 Samuel xxiii. 3.

and habits, in their union, in their united and virtuous energy, in the hope of the favor of Heaven, and probably in the favor and support of other powers.

All virtue is promotive of peace, as it is of good order and good government. The well principled, and well informed, will promote the well principled to places of trust and influence; and will encourage and sustain good principles and upright measures. But, as David says, "Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked"; or, as Daniel says, "The wicked will do wickedly; and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand." The vicious and unprincipled are prepared for iniquity, for deceit, for violence, for corruption, for delusion, at home and abroad, as leaders, or as followers.

Finally, Religion is the firmest and surest foundation of all virtue, and justice, and peace, and goodness, and happiness. There is an intimate and essential connection between truth and righteousness and peace, and the fear of the Lord, and the love of God and of mankind. And to a people "that is in such a case," there is high hope of Almighty favor and protection. Hear the word of the Lord. "Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: The Lord is with you while ye

be with him ; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you ; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you." *

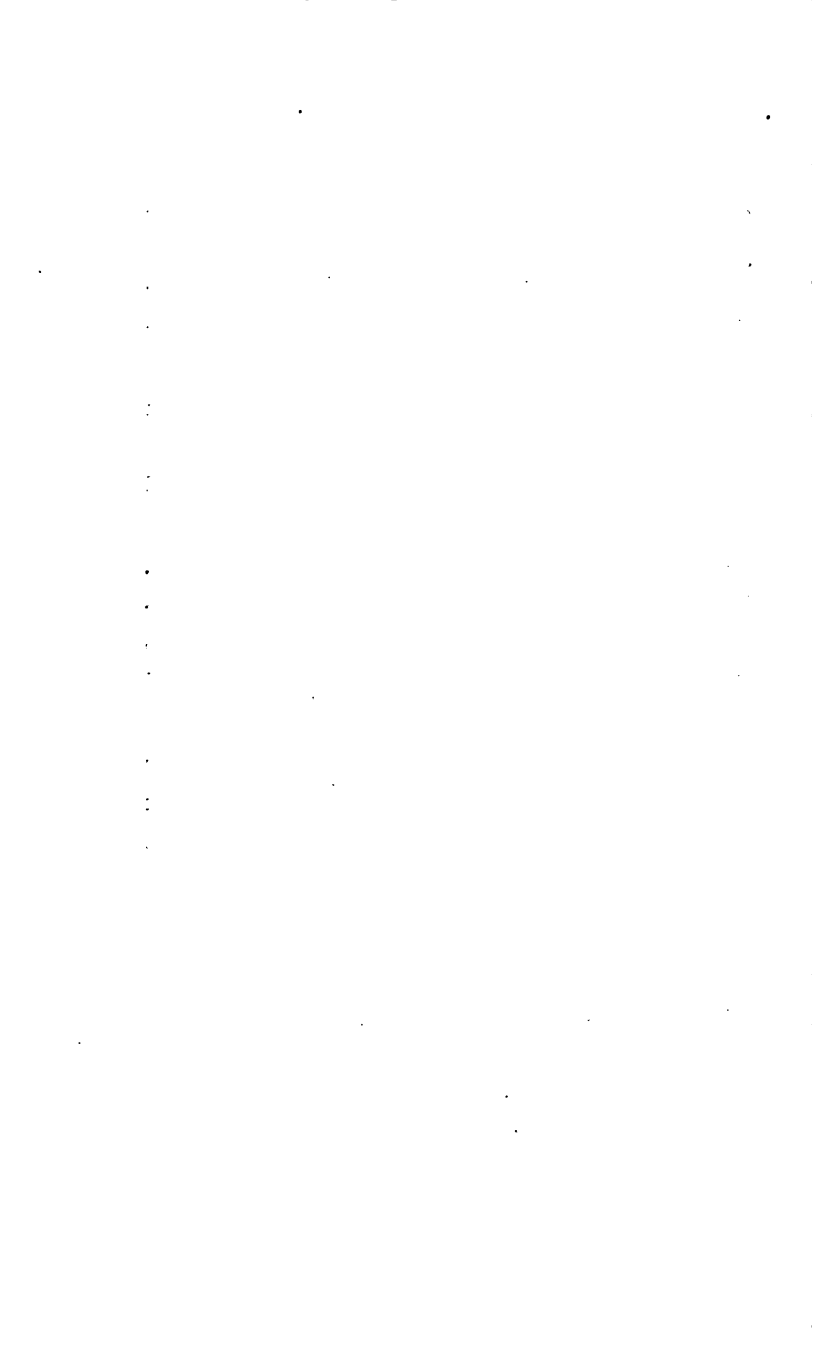
" The Lord is in his holy temple, the Lord's throne is in heaven : his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men. The Lord trieth the righteous : but the wicked, and him that loveth violence, his soul hateth. For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness ; his countenance doth behold the upright." † " Seek ye the Lord while he may be found ; call ye upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts ; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him ; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." ‡ " I will hear what God the Lord will speak : for he will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints : but let them not turn again to folly. Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him ; that glory may dwell in our land." §

* 2 Chron. xv. 2.

† Isaiah lv. 6, 7.

‡ Psalm xi. 4 - 7.

§ Psalm lxxxv. 8, 9.



NOTES.



NOTES.

LECTURE I. Page 5, line 1. SAMUEL ELIOT.] It is hardly necessary to say here, that he was a very eminent and opulent merchant and capitalist of Boston. The donation was made and carried into effect in his lifetime; but the name was reserved. After his decease it was declared. I had not the honor of a personal acquaintance, though I was a minister and native of the town (not then a city), and was acquainted with his connections. But his person was well known, and his character, as very benevolent in himself, and active to call forth the like spirit in others. Indeed, in this spirit his townsmen have always been open-hearted and open-handed; as is well understood at home and abroad, throughout the continent, and in the islands and distant regions. I have been informed, that he was the prime mover of the Congregational Charitable Society, for the relief of the widows and children of deceased ministers.

P. 5, l. 9. "*Zealous of good works.*"] Titus ii. 14.

P. 8, l. 17. *A course of lectures on a single book.*] As Pindar, for instance, or Cicero de Oratore. But, without doubt, he gives other courses, at other times, on other books.

P. 8, l. 18. *Professor Dalzel writes in his Lectures.*] Vol. I. p. 366. 8vo. Lect. XV.

P. 9, l. 6. *In its relations—*] There is a remarkable relation be-

tween different and distant languages, as is shown by those who are conversant with this part of literature, and which denotes a common origin.

P. 9, l. 20. *Attention and perseverance.*] Without much assumption or pretension, we may be allowed to observe, that these are the great art, and secret, and spring, and power, and principle of mind and of life. This was the Genius of Newton, according to his own confession. But I think that there must be some radical difference between the powers and propensities of different minds. Perhaps the principal difference is in the very power or habit of attention. There is this passage of Newton in Dugald Stewart's *Life of Dr. Reid*, prefixed to *Dr. Reid's Works*, in a note near the beginning: "If I have done the public any service, it is due to nothing but industry and patient thought." There is a brighter passage somewhere, and still more instructive, of which I have lost the place and the words, but retain, I think, the sense and the figure. When he first turned his thoughts on a deep and difficult subject, it was dark as the darkness before the morning. On keeping his attention fixed, some faint glimmer of light appeared, like the first dawning of the day; which in continuance arose increasing and expanding, till at length the light came over his mind like that of the rising sun. Sir William Jones makes a similar confession. Yet it may be questioned whether every man by industry and patient thought could make the discoveries and acquisitions of Sir Isaac Newton and Sir William Jones. But there is no question whether even Sir Isaac Newton and Sir William Jones could have made them without industry and patient or diligent thought. There appears a difference in these minds, as in their objects and studies; Newton's a fixed attention, and Jones's a rapid collection. But attention, application, and industry belonged to both, and were necessary to both their characters.

This perhaps may be ultimately the principle of Locke in his chapter of Liberty, which he calls Suspension; and may enter far into the theory of "the human understanding, will, and liberty." "Think of these things." Take time and think about it. Stay and fix the attention, till better thoughts come in and correct the wayward will, or better reasons arise and clear the clouded understanding. The principle is obvious and simple; but simple powers and principles often produce great effects. The incipient and prevalent impressions of religion are often and well called attention; and attention is as pertinent to the progress as to the rise of religion.

P. 10, l. 5. *Καθ' ἑναυμιν.*] Xenophon, *Memorabilia* of Socrates, L. I. C. iii. s. 3. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 336.

P. 10, l. 7. *The first Professor.*] EDWARD EVERETT, then a Representative in Congress, now [1836] Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

P. 10, l. 15. *The consequences.*] These were, that I was oppressed with offices. See below. I might have escaped them, by resigning my first and proper office, and making way for another person. But I had been called from another place some years before, without any motion on my part; and it was too late for me to think of looking out for yet another; and therefore I chose to hold on by a sort of reciprocal necessity, which I well understood. But the hardship and misery of the business was, that I had been averse in mind and heart to the steps which preceded these changes, and had opposed them in words; and then in fact yielded my name, and my name only, to authority and persuasion. I deserved my reward, for yielding against my reason and judgment. We were right, I think, in regard to the ancient matter of fact. But it had been superseded, at first, I suppose, by expediency, or some other cause, and at length by prescription. Besides, I thought and said, that it is a security to have a body of independent and intelligent men standing before us in presence of the public and the higher powers. Further, it is never well and safe, that any men, or body of men, in such a place, should be intrusted with the absolute regulation of their own duties, however superior may be their advantages for discerning them. Those on the other hand were superior, not only in station and power, but in knowledge of the world and of its affairs and business. And further, I thought the scheme impracticable, as it was, and foretold, what it was easy to foresee, that it would provoke a great resentment, and I was not disappointed. It is true, there were then circumstances and appendages that were irksome and adhesive; and that was the chief cause of the commotion. But they might not last for ever; and temporary inconveniences and partial exceptions are not valid objections to a settled and useful constitution. But were they otherwise, there was no help, where there was no power. My course, if I took any, would be to quit the lower ground of subordination, and try the vantage-ground of public opinion. *Cætera desint. Συμετοίς.*

* Since Minister to England, and President of the University at Cambridge. — Ed.

P. 12, l. 2. *But from some defect —*] There was a manifest aversion to any thing beyond the text and the words; and for this and other reasons I held them as closely as I could to the text and the words; supposing that they were unwilling to lose their time and patience on vain speculations.

P. 12, l. 7. *In the course of events —*] Some apology or account seemed to be due for partial performance; or for not performing impossibilities.

P. 12, l. 17. *Reduction and connection of offices.*] This was a plan of economy, or recovery, to diminish the expenses by reducing the number of officers, and increasing the duties of those who remained. My first office was that of College Professor of Greek, or simply teacher or hearer of the classes and lessons. This had been the work of two men. I began alone with all the lessons and classes or divisions; and could sustain it myself in some measure. But so many divisions could not be exercised to advantage by one person. There was not time for it in the arrangement of studies. Therefore, after some trial, I voluntarily gave up about a third part of my original salary, to contribute mainly to the support of a Tutor. By the new plan, the office of College Professor was merged in that of Eliot Professor, with the duties of both included, and assigned to me, with half a Tutor to help me. The other half of the same man was given to the Latin. This was a plan of calculation, rather than of education; and almost impossible to be arranged in practice. I did not like this half-and-half mixture, and chose rather to go for the whole; and therefore gave up my half to the Latin, though the whole man would have been a very good man for me. Thus I labored on alone, as much as I could, most of the time in sorrow and sickness and trouble, from repeated mortality in my family, till the lectures were required, and a Tutor was added at my request.

P. 13, l. 3. *And now I must consider —*] The design of this consideration was not so much to find out my own course, as to show to others what I had "found out by my learning," or *guessing*; to give some account of the manner of instruction; of the methods that had been, or might be, pursued in teaching and lecturing; as in the next lectures I attempt to sketch out some history and account of the matter or materials of education.

P. 14, l. 26. *O Soul of Sir John Cheek.*] Sonnet XI. I suppose he gave a comment with the passages which he read and translated. Next to this quotation is the following passage in the original manuscript: "This is said by Milton, and of the age of Milton; and it is said of every age. I have read it even in German books, of the last century. And it is too often true. But I humbly think, without assuming to vaunt ourselves, that in this age, and in this place, there are those who can do as much as is here ascribed to Sir John Cheke, *with due preparation.*" In fact, this way of free translation appeared to be preferred, as more elegant and clerkly. It might also be rendered more easy, by the skill of learning which the ingenious knew how to apply. Luckily the letter-press of the books was so open as to admit copious scholastic annotations, or innotations, or internotations in manuscript, which admirably assisted the labor of the memory and the study. Therefore, to check the pride of genius a little, and to increase the exercise and discipline of the mind, I held them closely to the text and the words as possible, construing and parsing. Another countercheck, somewhat quarrelsome, was to go round occasionally, circling the square of the school-room, to search and seize contraband goods. This was so unpleasant a process, that I endeavored, too much, to make the apprehension supersede the necessity of the execution. I have on hand a goodly number of these confiscated wares, full of manuscript innotations, which I seized in the way of duty, and would now restore to the owners on demand, without their proving property or paying charges.

P. 19, l. 21. *Now, hæc diplomata.*] This reading appears not quite so well to agree with the context as that which it has displaced, according to our interpretation of the formula; as it may "seem to signify," that the graduate is authorized to give lessons or lectures on his diploma. But it may be fairly construed to import, that he is entitled to give them (lessons or lectures understood) on the strength, or by the authority, of his diploma. Indeed, either of these forms, of book or diploma, may be taken as a visible sign or emblem of the act of conferring degrees. And certainly the latter renders the ceremony more convenient and graceful in the act, and more significant and appropriate in the appearance.

There is another of these forms, on which I take the liberty to offer a morsel of criticism: "in lingua vernacula," from *verna*, a slave born in one's house or family of slaves, *familia*. It is true, the adjective *vernaculus* is transferred by a bold figure, catachresis, *abuse*,

to signify any thing domestic, or of one's country. But it signifies also, by a not very bold metonymy, vulgar, petulant, scurrilous, in plain English — what I will not name here. These associations may render the phrase unpleasant to the fastidious. It may have been used by the scholars of former days to distinguish themselves from the multitude, who knew no other than their native tongue, whether slaves, serfs, villeins, gentlemen, or noblemen.

But to us, *Sermone Patrio* is more generous and noble, more paternal and patriotic, and more suitable to freemen; and I think it is more used, or approved, by classics, critics, and scholars.

P. 20, l. 21. *In this direction.*] I have been informed, that a Professor of Yale College lectures or discourses on Demosthenes de Corona, making it the basis of rhetorical instruction; and that the students go along with him, and second his exercises by their own studies.

P. 21, l. 14. *We live in a world of words.*] And we live in the most abundant part of the world, France not excepted. We have such a *copia verborum*, such a profusion of words, and extravagance withal, that millions on millions are merely thrown away and wantonly wasted; — as plenty as dollars, and more “plenty than blackberries.” We have some things, too, and some thoughts, as well as words.

Sometimes I think that all our ideas are words. But sometimes we may have ideas and thoughts for which we cannot find words, for want of them either in the mind, or in the language. And sometimes they occur from other languages, for want of them in our own. Sometimes “they will not come for calling”; and again, they may be found by waiting and searching. Hence in part the advice “to keep your piece nine years.” And hence a great command of language is a frequent and great commendation of an able and ready writer and speaker. And again, there may be a ready flow of words, or a great show, without any ideas or thoughts to support them. But we must stop short, or we shall run into an ancient and modern, a subtle and endless inquiry; or may fly up to Plato's world of preëxistent ideas and souls. Superior spirits must have some more immediate, intuitive, and intense mode of perception and communication.

P. 24, l. 23. *The Palladium.*] This is not quite classical. Ceres was the mistress of the mysteries of Eleusis. But Pallas dwelt in

the Acropolis of Athens, which was more to my purpose. The Palladium was first the image or symbol of Pallas, on which the fate of Troy was said to depend. But the word Palladium, being in common use, seemed to throw a slight veil over the heathen allegory. I will only add, what is obvious in the text, and elsewhere, that the *ἱερόν* was any thing sacred or consecrated, not only the temple, but the grounds about it, or groves or fields or places without a temple. The *Ναός* was the inner temple, where the image or symbol resided, from *νάω*, *ναίω*, to inhabit.

P. 25, l. 4. *After all that is declaimed.*] I had been "pestered with a popinjay" linguacity, and random declamation.

It seems to be taken for granted, that we are much wiser than our fathers, especially the younger part of us; more studious, more learned, more every thing. Beside the history and tradition of the times and the men, I have some evidences in my study to the contrary, which may be produced hereafter. In the anxious and troublous times of the Revolution, their studies were disturbed, and their thoughts were turned upon the great principles and actions and dangers in which the country was engaged. Yet eminent scholars arose in that trying period. Before the Revolution, I believe, and in the early times of our country, great and undivided attention was given to the sounder and higher parts of learning, especially to that which is particularly connected with theology. President Willard was a very learned man, "a rare old Grecian," a deep and practical mathematician and astronomer, and of very general reading and knowledge. And what is more, and better, and greater, he was, I believe, a sincere, honest, good man. His grace was in the inner man, and not all on the outside. But his dignity was in both. I had the honor of serving under him several years as a Tutor; and he did me the honor to express his regret, when, in his sickness, I took a sudden start in another direction, which had been long meditated. Even at that time of the exhaustion and prostration of the country and its institutions, which followed the deadly struggle for life, liberty, and independence, I think those of us who studied went more heartily and radically into the work, so far as we went, than I have since commonly observed. We were simple enough to believe that learning is a good thing; and that college learning is good learning. There was a Willard Peele in our class, who held our heads down to the work in the study, if we wished to hold them up in the school-room. Hence probably grew a habit of minute attention to the

very words, forms, and anomalies of a language, not merely to general rules and observations. Since that time knowledge has been advanced, and the means of it increased, and many have made good use of their advantages. But likewise avocations have been multiplied, and miscellaneous literature vastly augmented, together with much that cannot justly be called literature. These things engage and divide the attention, and withdraw it in part from more serious and severe subjects. The men of former times, not being so much exposed to these temptations, gave themselves more entirely and exclusively to the severer studies; and, moreover, they wrought under a deep and serious sense of religious duty.

P. 25, l. 9. *Recitation.*] In reading I added, "construing and parsing," rather sportively, referring to former intercourse. This seems to have been taken, once or twice, more seriously than it was intended. Yet, seriously, the first step is to learn the language, that we may be able to read the books, and give or receive the comments.

LECTURE II. P. 30, l. 9. *Magical operations.*] Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History. Century X. Part II. Chapters I., II.

P. 31, l. 13. *A reasonable interpretation.*] Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiæ. Pars Prima Secundæ. Quæstio XCVI. Articulus 5.

"The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." 1 Timothy i. 9. Not that he is free from the restraints of the law, but that they are not necessary to restrain him. He is ruled by a superior law, which sets him above transgressing the inferior, and incurring its penalties. Unless the human law be contrary to the divine; and then he submits to the human penalties, rather than transgress the supreme law. This was the case of the early Christians, and they submitted to martyrdom. This appears to be the sense and interpretation of St. Thomas.

He was a man of great learning and ability in his time, and has left seventeen volumes in folio to the world, or the cloister. I have his Summa Theologiæ on my shelf in a vast folio of close and fine print; and thus may boast of possessing the better part of the learning of the Schools. But I cannot profess to have studied it with all the humble and faithful diligence of Dr. Young, under the guidance of the poetical Pope, as we read in Johnson's "Lives of the Poets." It is at the service of any one, who wishes to go to the fountain-head, and consult the oracle for himself: "Sanctos ausus recludere fontes." Virgil, Georg. II. 175.

This book came from the library of one of our old divines, a minister of a secluded parish, with a number of other books of Protestant theology and learning, mostly in Latin; one of which was Wolfgangus Musculus. I have other books of great name and solid character from the libraries of others of our old divines, and have seen more. In the College library I have seen and used copies of early editions of Greek authors, which have the names of our early Fathers written in them, some of which copies, I think, would hold a respectable place in a European catalogue of rare books. They were probably out on loan when the old library was burnt, or were presented after the fire, to help to repair the loss.

Among the books of the ancient clergyman before alluded to is a Hebrew Bible of Arias Montanus, in large folio, with the Greek New Testament and Apocrypha annexed, and the Latin Vulgate connected, with the corrections of Pope Sixtus V. superadded. I have also a fine old copy of the Hebrew Bible of Van der Hooght, which belonged to the minister of an inland town. I had a Hebrew Bible of a peculiar description, from another inland minister. But it seems to be gone the way of other books, by the pernicious practice of lending, or borrowing. Who could borrow such a book, I cannot remember, nor conjecture. For it was all clear and pure text of the Synagogue and the Rabbins, without any vowel-point, mark, note, comment, preface, or apparatus whatever, except Rabbinical annotations in the same unadorned beauty with the original. Yet I have heard that man, in his old age, after a long avocation in teaching boys and children, read that text with all the vowel-sounds, as if they were all plainly marked on the page.

These notices may serve to show, that if these Fathers read their books, and mine bear the marks of use, their reading was not very light and superficial. And that they were studious we have sufficient evidence in their history and their works. There were Mathers, and Barnards, and Tuckers, and Holyokes, and Chauncys, and many other such, in the land in those days. I name these, because they are most known to me by their connections. But those to whom I have before referred were not men so conspicuous in the land, excepting Bishop Bass of Newburyport. They were the ministers of parishes which the eye of the traveller seldom visited, and which rarely saw any other learned man than their own, except in his pulpit. Perhaps their studies were too abstruse and scholastic, and that some more animated sentiment, united with sound knowledge, is more effectual in exercise. Yet they were the instruments of a serious religion and regular mor-

als. They were also, remotely and nearly, instruments of our liberty and independence ; for they kept up the light of knowledge and the power of virtue in the country. And they were, for the most part, zealous friends of liberty, and advocates of the Revolution. One popular young preacher was so zealous in the cause, that he shouldered his firelock, and placed himself in the ranks, under the orders of the captain. And the captain wisely ordered him to his study, where he could do better service by watching and praying for them.

P. 32, l. 9. *Rights of man.*] I cannot profess to be accurately versed in political and constitutional history, especially that of the Middle Ages. But I am inclined to think, with others, that we are much indebted to the ancient classics for our modern rights. The revival of ancient letters was the revival of ancient liberties. The liberty of the people was the liberty of the schools. The feudal liberty was the liberty of the few, and the slavery of the many ; the lawlessness of the barons, and the servitude of the villeins. The wild tribes of Germany and Sarmatia appear to have lost much of the spirit of freedom, for which some of them bore the name of Franks, when they were settled in the milder regions of cultivation. The leaders became lords, and the soldiers their vassals. If all the conquerors were lords, or knights, or esquires of some degree, the conquered may have been made their subjects, their slaves and property. I can hardly believe that all the Britons were driven into Wales, or slain ; much less, that all the Gauls and Spaniards were exterminated. The wise king was the friend of the people, or the commons ; and, being joined with them in interest, he raised them by degrees, to curb the power and domination of the nobles. To this end, with other means, he granted them charters of incorporation. But still the liberties of corporations were chartered, or granted, and limited liberties, and might be, and were, revoked or defeated. We read not much in that period, I think, of the natural and common, imprescriptible, indefeasible, unalienable rights of man. These are American terms, American innovations, if you please, Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen, and Dr. Johnson of London, but proper to an American vocabulary. See Dr. Campbell's Sermon, Dec. 12, 1776. I think they were the scholars, who, trained in ancient lore, taught the people truths and rights which they would not have known, of which they would not have thought, under their habits of custom and prescription. Thus were settled the liberties of England. And they were brought to this land by Englishmen and scholars, where they have been established and increased, till they

have been reflected on Europe, even on Great Britain. In this land, they were men of the classical school who declared and proved them, though they were maintained by the great body of the people.

The liberties of Rome were at first securities for the people extorted from the Patricians; and in progress they were a continual struggle for rights, powers, and privileges; till the people prevailed to destroy them by their fondness for popular leaders. This struggle existed in Greece; but it was sooner settled in Athens, whence we receive most of our ancient literature. The people became sovereign, and often tyrannical, till they were debased and ruined by their levity and excesses. Thus we may perceive the rise, progress, and ruin of liberty. We pretend not that all knowledge and sound principles come from Greece and Rome. But their history and writings set men to thinking and acting, till by degrees they fixed on just principles of right and government.

It may be remarked, that scholars are very apt to be lovers of freedom, and that even to excess, till, as they grow older, or wiser, they see and feel the force of the maxim of Washington, "Liberty with order." At my first degree, in 1792, I bawled like a calf for France and Liberty. But my tone was soon and sadly changed. Had I spoken, as invited, at the second degree, in 1795, it might have been on the excesses and horrors of licentiousness and infidelity. In England, where the balance has heretofore inclined to the side of power, many of the best poets and writers appear as enthusiasts in the cause of freedom, sometimes to a ludicrous affectation. In this country, scholars may be esteemed the same, but sometimes they see and feel the necessity of inclining to the side of order. The great and evident danger of liberty is in the want of knowledge, wisdom, and virtue.

P. 32, l. 24. *The means of interpretation*] Simply and clearly, we must know the languages, in order to be able to read and understand and interpret the original Sacred Scriptures. And it is highly conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to a good understanding, that we know these languages and their authors more extensively than in these Scriptures, that we may exercise a sound judgment and just comparison on the meaning of words and the construction of sentences. For this extent of knowledge several reasons may be given. I will instance in one, which happens to be now before me. It is held, that the style of the New Testament is peculiar, partaking of the Hebrew idiom, and adapted to the doctrines revealed; and this, I believe, is true. But we ought to know, in some measure, how far this is true,

and in what instances. We ought to know something of Hellenism, as well as of Hebraism. It may be all pure Greek, or all pure Hebrew, or both, for aught that those know who know little or nothing about either. Young men have faced me down on idioms, which to me were perfectly familiar. No reason could be given for their assertions, but that it is so, and they knew it. And no answer could be given, but silence. And this on some of the highest points of doctrine. We cannot all indeed do every thing, and must make use of the labors of others. But we ought to be able to make some true estimate of their works; and not take every thing upon trust, or according to our own will and pleasure. Some contend, that the New Testament is nearly all pure classic Greek; others, that it abounds with Hebrew and other idioms, and with local phrases and allusions. I suppose that the truth, as in most cases, is between the extremes. I have thought, that I found what are called Hebraisms in some of the best and highest Greek authors, and mostly in the ancient and poetical style. They may have been brought from the East in the migrations of the people; or may have been derived from their Oriental connections; or may have been formed separately by the similarity of human thought and genius. I have marked these passages on the margins of my books, not on those of the College, as they occurred in reading; but they are scattered through some extent. I will only remark on one passage, which strikes me as remarkable; "to kick against the goad" is read in Euripides, I think, and perhaps elsewhere,* as a proverbial expression. In fine, that we may judge correctly, and before we pronounce positively, we should know by ourselves, or from others, whether what appear to be Hebraisms are not also Hellenisms. And so of other matters. That is, we should know something of the languages. — As to the general style and construction of the New Testament, the writers differ according to their respective vein and genius. The Greek authors differ as much or more among themselves; and as much, perhaps, as they differ from the writers of the New Testament.

In regard to the historical evidences of our religion, which are of the greatest moment and consequence, these are originally contained in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. They have been collected, or extracted, in many and various treatises and arguments. Dr. Lardner, in particular, has collected the Christian, Jewish, and Heathen evidences and testimonies in a vast assemblage; and they stand in such a multitude and force, as, I think, could not be resisted

* It is found in *Æschylus*, *Prom. Vinc.* 323. — *Ed.*

but by a determined and desperate resolution. He has translated them for us ; but I should be very sorry not to be able to read the originals which he has presented on his pages, and to recur to those to which he has referred us. This is the primary, and most powerful and convincing species of evidence. Godfrey Less, a Professor of Göttingen, has made a more succinct argument ; taking only those grounds which he thinks may be invincibly maintained against all plausible objections. This is the method to be taken with an antagonist. But many reasons may abundantly satisfy and edify a candid inquirer, which might not satisfy or subdue a close disputant. And it would be a great loss and damage to a friend of the truth, to be confined to those arguments only which would silence an adversary. But cumulative and conspiring evidence is valid also against an opponent.

Now suppose all these means and evidences to be neglected and relinquished ; and where should we stand ? and how should we stand ? We believe that the Infinite Power can accomplish his purposes without instruments. But that is not the common method of providence and government. He is pleased to employ instruments, and provides the means, and requires the preparation. Other reasons for the study of the ancients are strong ; but this to my mind is incomparably the strongest, and to my mind it is irresistible. Psalm lxxviii. 41.

P. 35, l. 6. *Johannes Scotus Erigena.*] This is a different person from Johannes Duns Scotus, called the Subtile Doctor, who is celebrated in Hudibras. John Erigena lived in the ninth century, and John Duns in the fourteenth. Erigena is said to have been a native of Ireland, as the name indicates, from *Erin* ; though he is also claimed for the town or county of Ayr in Scotland. Mosheim, Cent. IX. Part II. Ch. I. Sect. 7. John Duns is called an Englishman, but probably, I think, was of the town of Dunse, in the borders of Scotland. Idem, Cent. XIV. Part II. Ch. II. Sect. 38. He was the great antagonist of Thomas Aquinas, and gave his name to the sect of Scotists in opposition to the Thomists. The name *Scotus* appears to show him a Scot in distinction from the English. But the same name will not so clearly distinguish Erigena, because, I believe, it was also applicable to Irishmen. Something I have read of an invasion and settlement of Irish, called Scots, under Fergus I., on the western part of Caledonia, or Gaeldochd, whence they gradually spread their power and their name over all Scotland. — There is a story of Erigena, which shows his ready wit, and his familiarity with the Emperor

and King ; which I suppose is common enough, but may be repeated. They were sitting at table together, when the King asked, "What is the difference, or distance, between Scot and Sot?" John answered, "The table." The joke appears better in the original bad Latin : "Quid interest inter Scotum et Sotum?" "Mensa."

P. 35, l. 26. *The principal things.*] These are confessedly of great value in themselves and in their effects. And the general activity and prosperity increase the vigor and power of the understanding, and the means and the motives of education ; unless they degenerate to extravagance and dissipation. But the great interest of man and society is man and mind, to make intelligent, honest, and good minds, men, and citizens. And this must be done by good principles, sentiments, and knowledge, good education and government, private and public. "The proper study of mankind is man." See Johnson's "Life of Milton."

P. 37, l. 21. *The moral character.*] A man of regular science will understand the moral character as including religion, or included in it. But serious persons may be apprehensive of the term, as if it were taken exclusively, or assumed as a ground of confidence, rather than rendered as a performance of duty.

P. 44, l. 6. *An habitual knowledge.*] While they are thinking only of getting and saying their lessons, they are acquiring by habit, insensibly and unconsciously, a knowledge of the principles and laws of language. So in rhetoric, good thoughts and expressions are gathered by habit in reading good authors. But instructions and observations are useful in both cases, to direct and fix attention.

P. 44, l. 25. *Sooner to decay.*] Longinus attributes the decay of eloquence from its ancient purity and power to the slavery and corruption of the world. Sect. XLIV. Another cause may be that suggested in the passage next noted.

P. 45, l. 5. *The approved good sense.*] "We want better bread than is made of wheat." — *Pursuits of Literature*, quoting Sancho Panza. Dial. I. 81, note. When the best thoughts and expressions seem to have been occupied, and, as it were, used up, or, as the French say simply, *used*, there appears to be a reaching, and stretching, and straining after something new and extraordinary ; in which effort the

aspirant is frequently so far successful. But whether he be equally successful in making the thought and the language intelligible and impressive, is another question. To be impressive, a passage should at least be intelligible; unless we must admit, that obscurity is not only in part, but in the whole, a source of the sublime. I must humbly confess, that I cannot understand some things that I read, or try to read. I con them over, to find out, if possible, to what they amount. I try to reduce them to plain and simple English; and sometimes they appear to be common notions dressed in a portentous garb; sometimes like visionary and unsubstantial imaginations, or like reaching to grasp a shadow or a ghost; sometimes they appear to be all "words, words, words"; and sometimes I "make nothing of them." I cannot comprehend the finite and the infinite; unless the infinite is to be taken in one of the Latin senses of the word, for *indefinite*; and then I acknowledge that it is agreeable to Dean Swift's general rule: "Proper words in proper places." There are various forms and phases of this extravagation which must be left to a more extensive and discriminating examination. I humbly hope "that in judging others I do not condemn myself," having always been flattered with the praise of simplicity throughout.

P. 45, l. 26. *Longinus or Apollonius*—] Rhodius. Portions of these authors were in our course of study, and were accounted among the hardest. Both these appear to me as instances of the inflation of later writers in comparison with earlier authors. But both have ideas and thoughts to sustain their words. Longinus we know was a masterly judge of books and of style; and his treatise of the Sublime is still a source of the best rhetorical instruction. Yet he appears to me over fond of great, swelling words and sentences in his own composition. Apollonius in his *Argonautics* shows, as I think, poetical power and beauty. But his diction often appears forced and hard, and his descriptions, narrations, and speeches overwrought and overcharged. Yet Virgil has done him the honor of imitation, but, I believe, avoiding his excesses.

P. 46, l. 13. *One immured in antiquity.*] I fear the example goes with the remark, having been immured many years in the borders of antiquity, and scarcely able to read English, for want of time or attention. Being engaged in reading Greek, and some ancient Latin, and more modern Latin in unmeasured and complicated periods, with a dissertation between the noun and the verb, and the members of

sentences interserted and interserted with prodigious ingenuity and perplexity, the mind slid over plain and easy English, as over a field of ice, not indeed by reason of the coldness, but of the plainness and smoothness of the surface. Another cause of the hardness of some modern Latin may be, that the writers appear to have fondly collected all the hard words and stubborn phrases, intricacies, and nodosities that may be found in a hundred volumes, or in a whole dictionary, and scattered them plentifully over every page, to show their Latinity.

P. 46, l. 24. *The use or abuse of words.*] The first instance that occurs is the frequent word *predicated*. Such an act or proposition is *predicated on* such a reason or supposition, for *founded*. Logicians and lexicographers inform us, that to predicate is "to affirm one thing of another; as whiteness is *predicated of* snow"; or simply, snow is white. I had collected more instances in my head; but at present they escape my recollection. And let them go; for I find myself, like Cowper's shadow, "spindling into longitude immense." Task, V. 11. But I will add, that Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen, in a Sermon preached against us in 1776, charges us, among other errors and sins, with delighting in "great swelling words of vanity." And we must, I fear, plead guilty in some degree. We would rather be *obligated*, than *obliged*; and think more, or speak more, of being *humiliated*, than of being *humbled*. But I believe that those who have been drilled and trimmed through all the forms of the schools, in general, show less of this fondness than others who aspire to the praise of fine writing.

P. 46, l. 24. *Shakspeare is an exception.*] To all common observations on common men. I cannot boast of being deeply skilled in "the learning of Shakspeare"; but have read his works more than once, as may be perceived. I have an impression, that the learned languages were in vogue in his time, and were taught in the higher schools to those who were not designed for the universities. Milton seems to intimate as much in a passage before cited. Page 14. We read, that ladies of high station studied them with diligence and affection; the lady Elizabeth, the powerful Queen of England, and the lady Jane Grey, the unfortunate Queen of a day. Such also were the celebrated daughters of Sir Anthony Cook and Sir Thomas More. For the quotations see Shakspeare, Merchant of Venice, Act V. Scene 1. Pindar, Pythia, Carmen I. 25.

P. 48, l. 9. *Shorn of his beams.*] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book I. 596. These fragments, floating in the current of thought, occur first in speaking and writing, more frequently perhaps than properly. I cannot say, "*Adparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*" Virgil, *Æneis* I. 118.

P. 49, l. 25. *May well direct.*] Men of education generally take a lively interest, and have much influence, in parochial measures and settlements; and they ought to be prepared to fulfil these offices of their station in all good conscience and good discretion.

P. 50, l. 2. *Through desire.*] Solomon, Proverbs xviii. 1.

LECTURE III. P. 52, l. 25. *My people are destroyed.*] Hosea iv. 6. When Terentius Varro had almost destroyed his people in the rash battle with Hannibal at Cannæ, and was returning with a few remains of his host from the field of slaughter, the Roman people of all orders went forth to meet him, and to thank him, that "he had not despaired of the Commonwealth." Livy, Dec. III. L. II, end. This was a strain of fortitude and magnanimity; and it was the principle of life to the Republic. The awful words of the Prophet often come over me in contemplation; but I should rejoice to be more disappointed than Jonah. Washington and Adams, I believe, have felt and expressed a confidence in the ultimate good sense of the people. But this good sense must be informed and cultivated; and it must be animated and directed by a good spirit, the spirit of wisdom and virtue; and it must probably be instructed by the severe lessons of adversity; in order that we may be saved; if at some time it be not too late for repentance. I cannot conceive, that a *right* honorable man, unless he be easily and grossly deceived, would take advantage of the imperfection of human language, or human caution, to turn words from their obvious meaning and direct intention, and give them an oblique and sinister interpretation, to effect his own purposes. Bishop Butler has made a sagacious remark, which is frequently repeated, that fanatics are often hypocrites, so far at least as to practise artifice; however opposite and incompatible these characters may appear in the abstract. One reason is, that a violent passion is apt to be little scrupulous of the means, while it drives furiously at the end. The observation may be applied to violent passions in general.

P. 52, l. 27. *The design of a liberal education —*] This observation

is to be applied particularly to a college education, designed chiefly for professional life; not against other plans or schools, where a very useful and respectable education may be obtained, and preferable for other purposes and business of life. The argument is, that a college education ought to be a liberal and general education. It is against those who may be disposed to neglect or omit some of their proper studies and favorable opportunities. If a person have the means, he may happily improve himself and benefit society by literature and science. But if his occupation is to be in accounts and trade, however honorable, I cannot clearly advise him to prepare himself in the classics, ancient or modern, without some more peculiar preparation. They may adorn and gratify him; and he may subject his taste to his interest and duty; but it will probably cost him some struggles and exertions.

P. 59, l. 25. *The judgment of Cicero.*] Pro Archia Poeta, Sect. 1. 6. 7. I was unwilling to omit the authority of Cicero in this place, though these passages are frequently repeated.

P. 62, l. 27. *Yet leather —*] In the famous siege of Gibraltar, the Spanish floating batteries were covered with leather, to shield them from the red-hot balls of the British.

P. 71, l. 14. *Of Literature.*] There are not a few poets and other writers of imagination, whom I cannot without reserve put into the hands of young persons, especially females. We are much obliged to the ladies who of late have devoted their talents to this interesting class of readers.

P. 72, l. 21. *Studies of Nature.*] I have often wondered, that young men, who have the means before them, should neglect the opportunities of furnishing themselves with these very useful and agreeable studies. But when I consider the many demands on their attention, and the invitations of the libraries, and other less worthy avocations, I cease to wonder, but cannot cease to regret, for them, and for myself. Yet I attended Dr. Waterhouse's course of Natural History two seasons in succession. Chemistry was then mostly limited to the medical class; and Mineralogy was not introduced.

P. 375, l. 18. *The ancient matter of fact.*] From Mr. Peirce's History of Harvard University it appears that the two Tutors were origi-

nally Fellows of the Corporation. The other three members appear to have been taken from the vicinity. When new Tutors were added to the College, these also claimed the right of Fellowship. This question agitated the College, the Court, and the Country. Two were finally admitted, with the reserve, that this concession should not be drawn into a precedent. But it appears from the Catalogue, that some Tutors were Fellows until 1780, when Mr. Caleb Gannett resigned. Professors were continued longer in the Fellowship, till the resignation of Professor Pearson in 1806.

There is a piece of land between the former Parsonage and the College house westward, which was called the Tutor's Pasture, and it was let by them, and the rent received, when I was in that office. It was formerly called the Fellows' Orchard, as I have seen in an old deed of the parsonage. As Mr. Peirce informs us, this land was "given in 1645, by John Buckley * — and Matthew Day, steward, for the use of the Resident Fellows." Since I returned to College, in 1815, the rent was paid by Dr. Ware to me, I suppose as Senior Fellow of the House, and was duly distributed. But in process of time this land was inclosed with the College grounds by Mr. Stephen Higginson, Steward. I spoke to Mr. Higginson on the subject. He appeared not to have known the right and title; but said, that he would see, and pay rent for it, if he could. I supposed he meant to consult authority. But no rent was ever paid. I mentioned the case repeatedly to persons in authority, but without success. The last time was in President Quincy's study, at a meeting of the Trustees of the Dudleian Lecture; when I stated the case particularly to Dr. Porter, who replied in this way, that the title is doubted, or disputed, or unsettled. I do not recollect the exact words. I received the title of Fellow of the House from President Willard, who signified, I think, that the land was holden under this title. There seems to be some confusion in the use of these terms, Resident Fellows, Fellows of the House, and Fellows of the College. See Peirce, pages 15, 81, 113, Chap. XIII., and elsewhere.

There was also a legacy of Mr. Tutor Flynt, of seventy pounds sterling, mentioned by Mr. Peirce, page 260, "the income to be given to four Tutors." From this fund I formerly received an annual dividend, and purchased books with it, and inscribed them to the memory of the donor. I have made mention of it, and think it was replied, that several funds had been consolidated. But it may have been exhausted in the course and changes of time.

* Or Bulkley, or Bulkeley, the "First Master of Arts in Harvard College."

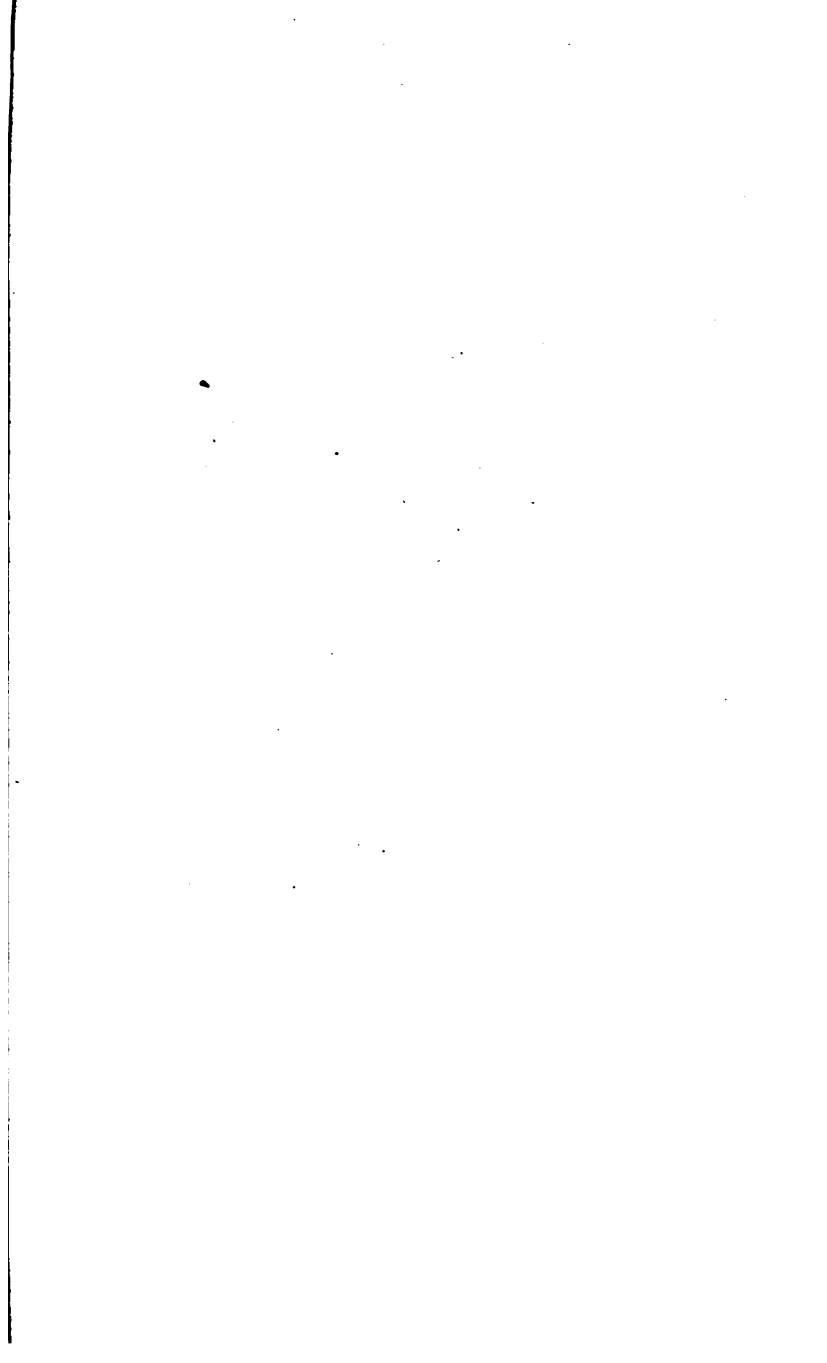
SERMON V. P. 343, l. 26. *Ambition, avarice.*] And whole cabinets of intrigues, unknown to us, who are not in the secret.

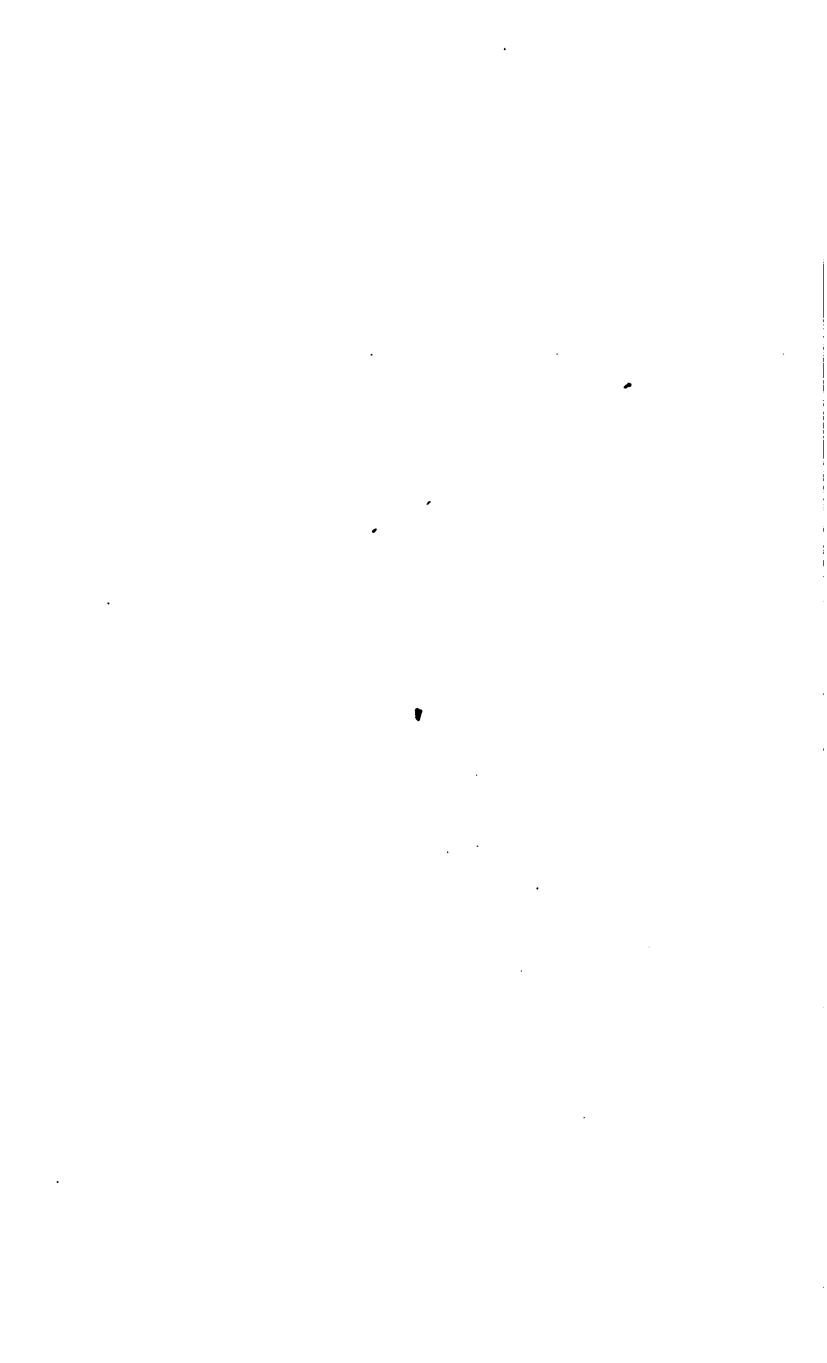
P. 352, l. 15. We may well suppose, that the British also had their particular reasons for making peace. They had been fighting long enough to be satisfied. They might prefer peace and commerce to a fruitless and costly revenge. They might wish to diminish, rather than to increase, their immense debt. Perhaps it is not assuming too much to ourselves to suppose that they might be willing to be rid of us, that they might turn all their attention and weight upon the affairs of Europe. Our cruisers also were very troublesome, and the trouble and damage would probably have been greatly increased, if we had been further obliged to make it our business and our defence.

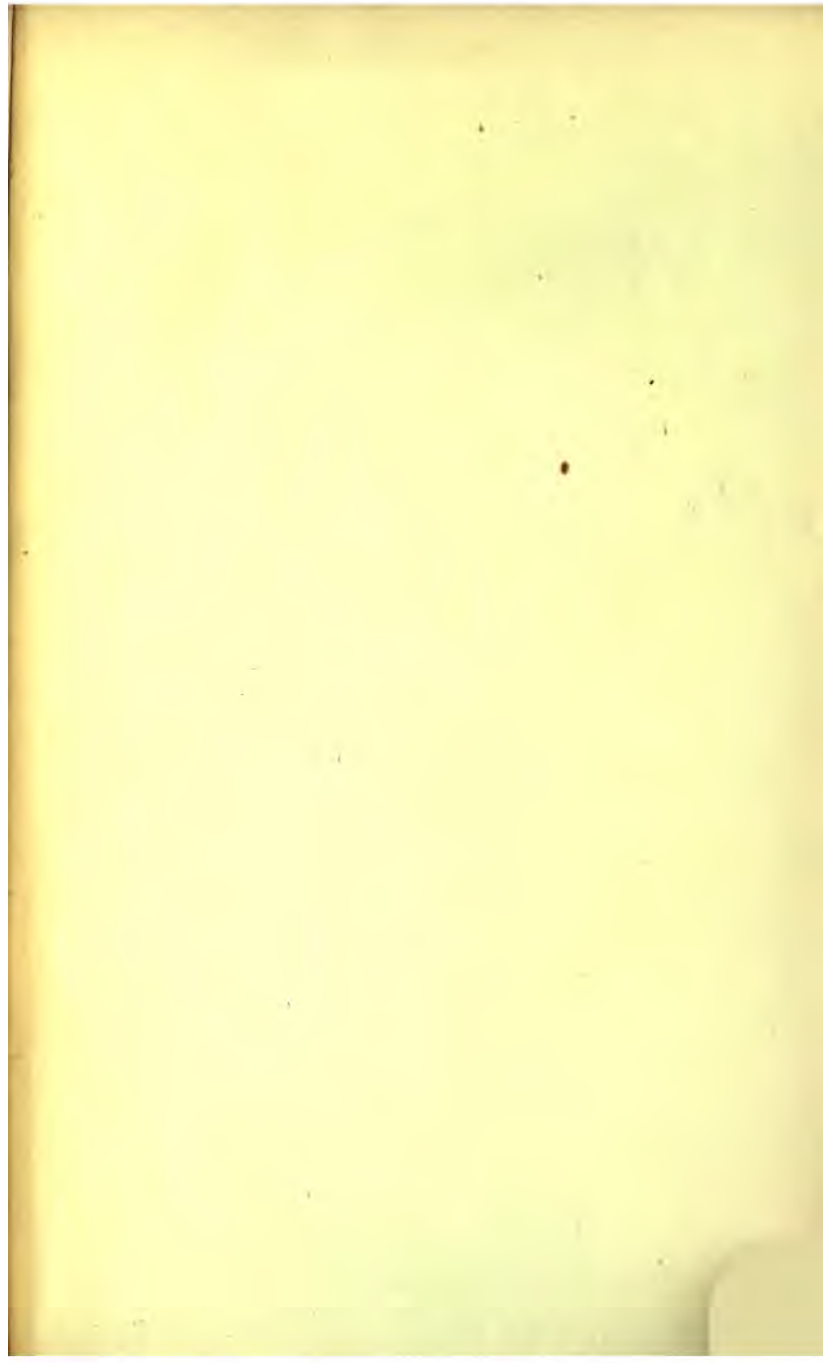
P. 353, l. 18. *Where is boasting then?*] Where? Everywhere, and in every case, and without blushing. We have had too much vaunting and bombast in the beginning, middle, and end of the tragedy. But the best performers have not been the most noisy declaimers. If big words, brave words ("prave 'ords," as Captain Fluellen says of Ancient Pistol), — if mighty words were forcible, as mighty deeds, or would pass for deeds abroad, as well as at home, we have had enough of them to take all the British colonies on this continent, and even to make Old England, Scotland, and Ireland our colonies.

Whether it be wise, or unwise, I cannot refrain from telling a little simple story, that I have somewhere read, or heard, or dreamt. One of our British governors, (for they too can swell and puff,) Pownal, I believe, held a talk with the Indians, and he talked very stoutly, and threatened to bring against them as many men as there were trees in the forest. An old chief gruffly replied: "Um — much — big — speak."

One of the soundest and sharpest of critics, Dr. Campbell, has long ago censured, somewhat severely, "the turgid dialect of America." But perhaps he knew not that there may be as much cunning as folly in it. Perhaps he was too honest to know, what a French philosopher has told us (Mirabeau, I think); — that words are things. Names stand for arguments. Words pass current for deeds. And great talking saves a great deal of trouble of well-doing, and is much more agreeable and acceptable.









THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT
RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR
BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.



L 2981.4.11

memorial of the Rev. John Snellin

Idener Library

003663392



3 2044 080 922 842